AL FAJR

JERUSALEM

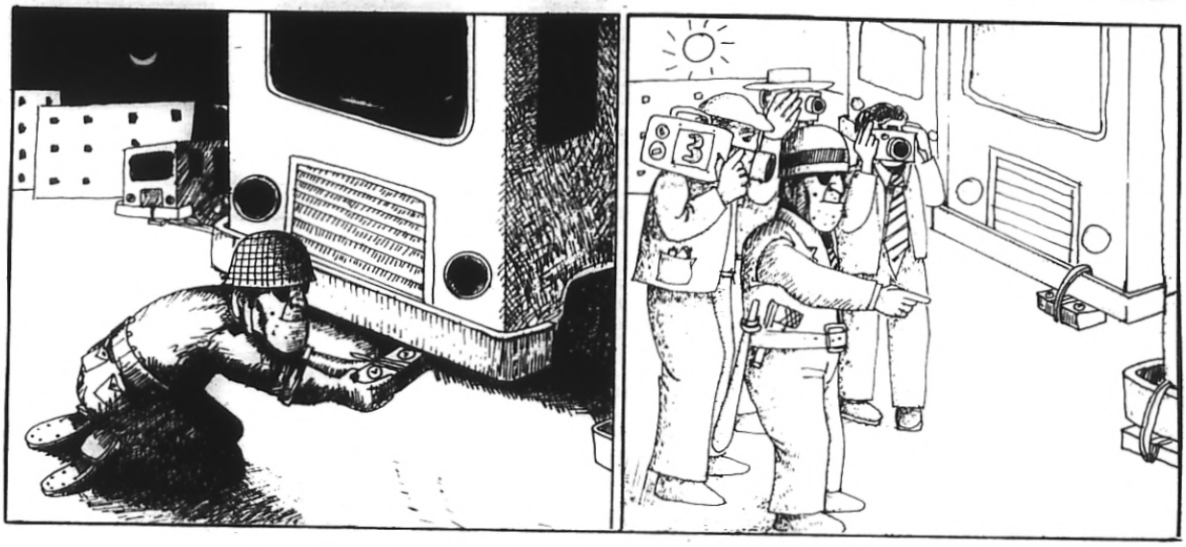
PALESTINIAN WEEKLY

16 PAGES
IS 75

POSTMASTER
Send address changes to
Al-Fajr
2025 I Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20006

(USPS 686-630

MAY 4, 1984
VOL.V,NO.209



Mass Murder in Jerusalem Plotted by Bus Saboteurs

Israeli bomb disposal experts were busy all morning April 27 defusing time bombs planted in six Arab-owned buses parked outside drivers' houses in five suburbs of Jerusalem. The buses, owned by the Joulani company, serve the Jerusalem-Kalandia refugee camp route 10 kilometres north of Jerusalem. Reports on the incident were initially censored from both Palestinian and Israeli newspapers while police made arrests (see separate story, page 1).

Three four-kilo bombs of high explosives were planted under each bus in various places and timed to go off on Friday afternoon. Last Friday was the Muslim feast of *Isra wa Mi'raj* celebrations and the buses would have been packed with worshippers returning from al-Aqsa Mosque.

Bus drivers expressed a sense of "tremendous shock" when Israeli explosives experts and soldiers prevented them from starting their buses parked near their houses in various suburbs of Jerusalem. They were told that the buses had been planted with bombs and were ordered to drive them to Moscobiyya detention centre, where more explosives were discovered.

A short bearded man identified as a Yemenite by Arab drivers and wearing a *kippa* showed where the explosives had been placed in one of the buses. It is not known whether he was being held in detention. Arab drivers told *Al Fajr*, "It would have been a mass catastrophe if the explosives had gone off."

Omran Shweiki, who lives in the Jerusalem suburb of Thowri, was starting his bus at 5:00 am when intelligence men and soldiers ordered him out. When he argued, he was pushed out of the bus, he said. He saw a Yemenite pointing at bombs placed over the front wheel. A battery, a small timing device and dynamite were removed, he said.

Shweiki kept arguing with an Israeli officer who said his name was 'Solomon' saying he was due to take German tourists to the Dead Sea. Shweiki said that when the officer heard this they grabbed the Yemenite and said, "Look, they are tourists not Arabs." Shweiki said that when he asked the officer in charge if he could use his brother's bus in the same area to take the tourists, the Yemenite said that it too had been booby-trapped.

Shweiki said Israeli soldiers and sappers used a rope to pull a bomb from the other bus. Shweiki and his brother Jalal were then ordered to drive their buses to Moscobiyya where two other explosive devices were found in each bus.

Similar scenes occurred at the home of Samir Tayeb, who lives in a mountainous and remote area in the Qabat quarter near a military camp in Dahiat al-Barid, a suburb between Kalandia and Jerusalem. Two military vehicles parked near his house and he and his family were ordered out of the house in fear that the bus would explode at any moment. Moments later Tayeb was ordered to drive to Moscobiyya where three explosives were discovered in his bus.

Bassam Faraj, from Beit Hanina, Ahmad Ibrahim Asi, from Silwan, Mohammed Jabari, from Azariya, and Mahmoud Mazere, from Ram, reported that they had been approached by soldiers at dawn in a similar manner.

Fayez Yaghmour, who usually works the Jerusalem-Kalandia route during the work week, was taking Makassed Hospital employees to *Jabal al-Sheikh* in the Golan Heights on the holiday. Bus company owners Mohammed and Imran Joulani told the police about the excursion and Israeli soldiers stopped the bus in the Golan Heights at 2:00 pm. A search revealed there were no explosives on the bus. Imran Joulani told Palestinian and Israeli reporters that if the bombs had exploded it would have been a major disaster for the people in Kalandia. Joulani said the passengers and not his buses were the target. Each bus has 'Joulani Bus Company of Jerusalem-Kalandia Line' painted on its side.

The authorities are still investigating major terror attacks against the Palestinian population. The most serious are the booby-trapped bombs planted in cars belonging to three West Bank mayors in June 1980 in which the mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a, lost both legs and Karim Khalaf, the mayor of Ramallah, lost a foot and the grenade attack on the Hebron University in which three West Bankers were killed and 38 wounded. The police say they expect the arrest of the settlers will lead to the discovery of the perpetrators of these attacks.

(Translation: Compiled from the local and Israeli press, May 2, 1984.)

Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus, said that "the crime is a result of the settlement policy and the Israeli encouragement to Israelis to settle in the occupied territories on the account of the rights of the Palestinian people."

Another elected mayor, Wahid Hamdallah, said that West Bankers have repeatedly warned that "settlers brought to the West Bank are taking the law into their own hands under the open eyes and blessing of the Israeli authorities." Israeli MK Yossi Sarid, who has been one of the few Israeli politicians to insist that a Jewish underground exists, said that "all the crazy men of the region have united to cause disasters."

Rabbi Ariel, who led the Stop the Sinai Withdrawal movement, told the Israeli daily *Ha-Aretz* that the attempt to booby-trap the buses shouldn't be condemned, "otherwise we have to negate Shamir, Geula Cohen, and Menachem Begin."

Settlers, Politicians Detained in 'Terror Against Terror' Swoop

Twenty Israeli settlers suspected of anti-Palestinian terrorism were arrested in a police sweep April 28-30.

According to police sources, the arrests came as a result of two years of investigations into settler activities. A undercover intelligence officer was reportedly planted within the ranks of Gush Emunim. Some police sources said they were hoping to continue investigations but decided to move when they heard a massacre involving the sabotage of six Arab-owned buses had been planned.

Israeli newspapers said the arrested settlers, whose names have been banned from publication, include public figures, army officers, including explosives experts, and a senior figure in the new *Tzomet* movement headed by former Israeli chief of staff Raphael Eitan. Arrested settlers came from Kiryat Arba, near Hebron, the Golan Heights settlements and others from Kedumim and Karnei Shomron settlements, near Nablus. Among those arrested were a father and son team, two brothers and a member of Kiryat Arba Rabbi Moshe Levinger's family. The detainees

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Syria Captures Israel's Lebanon Envoys

Syrian forces captured three Israelis May 1 near their lines northeast of Beirut, bringing to nine the number of Israelis captured in Lebanon.

According to an official Syrian communique, the three officials were on a sabotage mission. "The three-man group of saboteurs were trying to infiltrate our lines," the communique said. The three officials, who were transferred to Syria, are to be treated as prisoners of war, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouq Shar'e told the Paris-based *Monte Carlo Radio* May 2. Israel says the three, all employees of the Israeli liaison office in Beirut, were 'lost' at the time of their capture.

The Israeli government expressed concern about the fate of the three officials and said it holds Syria responsible for their safety.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir claimed that the three officials were on a sightseeing tour to northern Lebanon when they lost their way and mistakenly entered Syrian-controlled territory. They were first captured by the Lebanese army. Shamir added that according to their information, the Lebanese army turned the three over to the Syrian army.

The Israeli government has begun a wide diplomatic campaign in an effort to secure the three men's release. *The Jerusalem Post* said Israel contacted Lebanese factions close to Syria, as well as international organisations and states, in order to get them to mediate the release but that the efforts were unsuccessful.

Israel maintains a liaison office in the Phalangist-controlled East Beirut. The office coordinates relations between Israel, the Lebanese government and the Phalangist forces.

Syria is also holding three Israeli soldiers as POWs. Two more soldiers are held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, which is led by Ahmad Jibril, and one other by the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

Karameh Gets 7 from 10 for New Cabinet

The Lebanese national reconciliation government picked by Prime Minister Rashid Karameh met May 2 at the presidential palace in Ba'abdah with the noticeable absence of three ministers.

Karameh, a Tripoli resident and one of the leaders of the now defunct National Salvation Front, was chosen by President Amin Gemayel April 26 to head a reconciliation government. The 10-member cabinet was considered by Karameh an "emergency team." After intensive discussions in Beirut and Damascus, Karameh announced his new cabint. No cabinet member was consulted before hand.

Beirut advocate Nabih Berri, who heads the Amal movement, Walid Jumblatt, head of the Progressive Socialist Party, and Abdallah Rassi, representative of the Suleiman Franjieh faction of the NSF, boycotted the first cabinet session.

Press reports from Damascus say there are on-going discussions between Berri, Jumblatt and Syrian Deputy President Abd al-Halim Khadam. The Syrians want the boycott ended.

The Karameh cabinet includes: Rashid Karameh, premier and foreign minister; Camille Chamoun, minister of finance, housing and cooperatives; Adel Siran, minister of defence and agriculture; Salim Hoss, minister of labour, education and arts; Abdallah Rassi, interior minister; Victor Qasir, minister of industry, commerce and petrol; Pierre Gemayel, minister of posts, health and social welfare; Nabih Berri, minister of justice, water and electricity; Walid Jumblatt, minister of transport, tourism and public works.

Karameh also promised to create a ministry of the environment and award it to Abdallah Rassi.

Nabih Berri said in Damascus that he will join the Karameh team "only if a new cabinet specialised in liberating and rebuilding south Lebanon is agreed upon."

Hit-Men Wound Top Arab Journalist

Hanna Miqbil, general secretary of the Arab Journalists' Union (AJU), was wounded in an assassination attempt in Nicosia, Cyprus May 3, the BBC reported.

Miqbil, who is the second man in the Iraq-based AJU, was rushed to hospital. The radio report did not say what his condition was.

Miqbil, who is of Palestinian origin, previously occupied a leading position in the General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists. The PLO issued a statement condemning the assassination attempt and saying Israel was responsible for it.

Miqbil's secretary was also wounded in the attack.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 209, May 4, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors 15
Number of articles totally censored out 1
Number of articles partially censored but used 2
Number of articles passed 12

Israeli Paper Shut 4 Days For Censorship Violation

The Israeli military censor, acting on orders from Defence Minister Moshe Arens, closed the Israeli Hebrew afternoon daily *Hadashot* for four days, starting April 29, for alleged violation of censorship regulations.

The rare measure against an Israeli Hebrew newspaper came after the paper played a leading role in questioning the circumstances in which two Palestinian commandos who participated in hijacking the Asdoud bus April 12 were killed.

Hadashot editor Yossi Klein was summoned to the censor's office in Tel Aviv on Saturday evening April 28 and handed the order. The lawyer representing the paper described the measure as an "unacceptable step" since it is customary for the censor to draw the attention of an editor to a violation.

The newspaper editors tried to prevent the closure by petitioning the Israeli High Court on Saturday night to get the order stopped. A deputy judge postponed the execution of the order for one day. The following day the High Court, with its three judges, turned down the appeal. The verdict stated that explanation will be provided later.

The closure order was issued on the grounds that *Hadashot* published an item that Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens had established an inquiry commission to look into the death of two commandos who participated in the hijacking of an Egged bus near Asdoud last April 12. A *Hadashot* photographer took a picture of one commando being led away by Israeli policemen. The man was apparently healthy. The paper was barred from publishing a story about it, and even from printing the picture. The information, however, was passed to foreign correspondents, notably David Shipler of *The New York Times*. Israel claims all four hijackers died in the operation, two on the scene and two later in hospital.

Yossi Klein, chief editor of the two-month-old tabloid, admitted that his paper's publication of the report was, strictly speaking, in violation of censorship laws. However, he expressed dissatisfaction with the censorship laws. "I am not sure whether the (censorship) law is OK," he told *Al Fajr*.

The tabloid's controversy with the censorship authorities resulted from the lack of coordination between the newspaper editors and censorship. Klein told *Al Fajr* that they have no representative on the editors' committee, which coordinates publication of news reports with the censor. He explained that they did not apply to be on the editors' committee because they felt they would not be accepted. The newspaper editor went on to say that they are not planning to apply to the committee in the near future for similar reasons.

The editors' committee, representative of all the main dailies, was established in the 1950s. The government then agreed not to apply draconian censorship laws to the papers in exchange for a 'gentlemen's agreement'. Arabic papers are also excluded from the committee.

On the day of the closure Klein and *Hadashot* director Roni Aram were summoned to the Tel Aviv police station where they were questioned separately about the news item on the inquiry commission. The two officials said that since they are not members of the editors' committee, they did not have to abide by its agreements. The editors' committee had been contacted by the Israeli defence ministry spokesperson and asked not to publish the inquiry commission story.

Among further punishment measures, Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Arens instructed the education officer of the Israeli army to stop distribution of *Hadashot*.

Israeli cabinet spokesperson Dan Meridor described the closure of *Hadashot* as "a matter of principle." The statement, which was made after Defence Minister Moshe Arens briefed the cabinet on his decision during its Sunday meeting, April 30, said that the measure intends to prevent the "laws of the state from being ignored."

The Israeli Journalists' Association declined to comment on the closure. A spokesperson for the Israeli Journalists' Association in Jerusalem said she did not want to comment because *Hadashot* journalists are not members of the union. Klein said that they had not received any support from any of the Israeli papers.

Hadashot is owned by the Schoken family, the owners of *HaAretz*, and follows a liberal line. The paper's editor said it distributes 60,000 copies.

Since the establishment of Israel in 1948, at least two other periodicals were closed.

Kol Ha'am, the Hebrew organ of the Israeli Communist Party, and *Bull* magazine, an independent weekly which was edited by Maxim Gilan, was closed down briefly in the early 1950s.

Israel Kills 5 in S. Lebanon Retaliations

Resistance attacks against Israeli troops in Lebanon escalated sharply this week. According to official Israeli accounts, seven occupation soldiers were wounded although foreign correspondents and Lebanese accounts reported additional casualties, including several dead.

Israeli troops increased repressive measures in an effort to control military attacks. Five Lebanese civilians were killed and 10 others wounded during counter-attacks and arrest campaigns in south Lebanon villages.

Lebanese National Resistance forces ambushed an Israeli patrol in the vicinity of Nabatiyeh April 26. The commandos destroyed a truck which was part of the patrol, killing or wounding all occupants. *Al Ittihad* daily, the official news organ of the Israeli Communist Party, reported this attack and said that nationalist commandos killed and wounded all personnel in a second patrol in Nabatiyeh on the same day. The report said that the commandos ambushed the patrol members as they walked through the meat market in central Nabatiyeh. Israeli soldiers were taken by surprise and opened fire randomly, killing two pedestrians. The end result of the attack was that all members of the patrol were either killed or wounded. The commandos apparently succeeded in escaping before the town was put under curfew and Israeli troops searched for the attackers.

On the same day Israeli troops clashed with residents of the village of Bisaryeh, population 8000, in the Zahrani area, after an Israeli unit raided the village in order to make arrests. Villagers set tyres alight and stoned Israeli jeeps. The Israeli force responded by firing live rounds at protesters, wounding nine residents.

Raiding Israeli forces later besieged the village and prevented people from leaving or entering. The occupation army bulldozed the house of Mahdi Hmaidan, the regional leader of the Amal movement.

In another report by the *Murabitoun*-run *Voice of Arab Lebanon* radio station April 29 Israeli troops forced their way into the village of Habboush, north of Nabatiyeh, and arrested five residents.

Israeli Accounts

According to Israeli reports, Israeli troops shot and killed two commandos April 28 near the village of Ansariyeh as they were planting an explosive device. The report, issued by an Israeli military spokesperson, said a military unit surprised the two commandos, who were fixing a 13-kilogramme explosive device.

Israeli troops shot and killed a woman commando and wounded her companion May 2 as they were planting explosives on a road south of Tyre.

Israeli military sources, on the other hand, admitted seven wounded in two separate attacks on April 27 and May 1. *The Jerusalem Post* said April 29 that the three soldiers were wounded by an explosion 13 kilometres southwest of Nabatiyeh.

Four more soldiers were wounded when a seven-kilogramme explosive charge went off on a dirt road east of Sidon. An Israeli military spokesperson said that a foot patrol was walking on the road when the device went off.

Ex-Ansar POWs Denied Access to Lawyers

Advocate Walid Fahoum

Nazareth advocate Walid Fahoum received confirmation from the Israeli defense ministry that his client, Othman Ra'fat Said Hamdan, an ex-Ansar prisoner, is being held in Atlit prison near Haifa. Hamdan was due to be released as part of the Israeli-PLO November 1983 prisoner exchange.

The Israeli defence ministry's reply, which came two months after Fahoum had made a written request to see his client, said Hamdan was in military prison according to emergency regulations made for detaining people from Lebanon in Israeli jails and that a family or lawyer's visit is possible only with coordination with the prison's authorities. When Fahoum contacted Atlit prison authorities he was denied access to his client without permission from senior officers in the defence ministry.

Walid Fahoum also received a letter from the Paris-based National Centre for Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons in which he was asked to give information on the cases of Othman Hamdan and Ahmad Breidi, a Lebanese citizen who was arrested in the Beqa'a and is to be tried in Israel on membership charges. The letter said: "We are alarmed by this information because both cases represent grave violations of international law by the Israeli authorities. The Fourth Geneva Convention provides very specific regulations concerning the transfer, methods of capture and detention in situations when one country occupies another. Article 49, paragraph 1, and Articles 76 and 147, specifically, have been violated in the transfer and treatment of these two prisoners."

Lawyer Lea Tsemel was also told this week that Israel still holds two of her clients whose names were included in the list of prisoners the PLO wanted exchanged for Israelis they were holding. Mohammed Suleiman Sa'adallah and Akram Ahmad Saleimi Hamari were taken off a ship on the high seas by Israeli sailors last year. They have been held *incommunicado* ever since.

Isra wa Mi'raj **Celebrated Locally**

Muslims celebrated the anniversary of *Isra wa Mi'raj* in mosques in the West Bank and Gaza Strip April 28. Scouts marched through major towns of the West Bank and ceremonies were held to underline the historic importance of Jerusalem to which the Prophet Mohammed travelled at night from Mecca to al-Aqsa Mosque and then ascended to heaven.

The Islamic *waqf* institute arranged a programme of celebrations in various towns of the West Bank. Thousands of people lined the route in Jerusalem of marching bands of 14 Muslim scout groups.

Bir Zeit Lecturer Kidnapped and Murdered

Bir Zeit University physics lecturer Nabil Ahmad Felaifel, 30, was found dead April 27 at 3:00 pm under a tree near a crossroads leading to Tireh village, Ramallah district. He had been abducted by unknown persons 16 days earlier from his al-Bireh home. His corpse was taken to Abu Kbir, the Israeli autopsy centre.

'Captain Sami,' head of the Ramallah police station, told *Al Fajr* that the circumstances of Felaifel's death are "not yet known" and that investigation is underway.

Felaifel's father, Ahmad, identified the body April 28 and said his son had been strangled with his dressing gown cord.

The police were informed April 15 that Felaifel was missing. According to his family, unknown persons knocked at their door around midnight. Felaifel went out, spoke with them and then returned for his ID card. He told his wife that he would return "after a short time."

Three days later when Felaifel had still not shown up, his father went to the Israeli military government headquarters in Ramallah to inquire about his son. He was told that Nabil was in prison but no reason was given for his detention.

Dissatisfied with the reply of the military, Ahmad Felaifel reported what had happened to lawyer Lea Tsemel.

Tsemel sent a letter to the Ramallah military court demanding Felaifel's release on bail. The military court set April 24 for a hearing of the case. Later Tsemel was notified by an officer of the military court that Felaifel was in fact not in prison.

Advocate Tsemel then contacted the legal advisor asking for an inquiry into her client's whereabouts. She received no reply.

'Captain Sami' told *Al Fajr* that Felaifel's wife was not able to identify the people who kidnapped and murdered her husband.

Nabil Felaifel recently married. He received a Masters degree in nuclear physics from Iowa University in 1982. He was planning to take a doctorate in physics in the near future.

Local sources speculate that Felaifel may have been a victim of a family dispute.

UNITY MAIN THEME OF MAY DAY

Palestinian workers celebrated May 1, International Workers' Day, in various West Bank towns. Festivals were sponsored by workers' unions.

The main meeting was sponsored by the Construction Workers, Painters, Food, Printers and Electricity Workers' Unions in Jerusalem in al-Quds Cinema where 1500 gathered. The ceremony started with music and the attendants stood for one minute's silence in memory of martyrs.

Telegrammes of solidarity from local institutions and national figures were read at the festival.

Jerusalem workers, national figures and representatives of other unions were entertained by dance performances and national songs.

Workers and employees of public institutions and members of professional associations held their own celebrations in the Professional Unions building in Beit Hanina. It opened with a reading of *Prisoners Cry*, by nationalist poet Mu'in Bseiso. Adel Ghanem, head of the Nablus-based Federation of Workers' Unions, talked about the achievements of workers and called for unity under a united federation.

Bethlehem

Several festivals were held in Bethlehem, The Palestinian Heritage Club at Bethlehem University held the largest. Speakers called for unity between student blocs. At the Palestinian Women's Committee headquarters a lecture was delivered about the conditions of workers in the occupied territories. At the Union of Public Institutions Workers poetry readings and speeches were delivered by unionists and political activists.

Ramallah

The National College, in Ramallah, held a festival of speeches and theatre. Students also held a voluntary work day at the school.

Al Ahliyya College, Ramallah Secondary School students and the Health Services Union arranged a cultural and community work programme.

The Public Institutions Workers Union in Tulkarm also held celebrations to mark the day.

Inside the 'green line' thousands of Arab and Jewish workers participated in popular marches in Tel Aviv, Nazareth, Um al-Fahm, Haifa and Kufr Yasif. Marchers carried placards voicing their support for peace and condemning war. Slogans also dealt with the problems of unemployment and poverty.

Tel Aviv

Under red flags, thousands of workers marched in Tel Aviv. 'Get out of the Lebanon Quagmire' and 'Workers of the World Unite' were the main slogans. The march, sponsored by the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, called for the cancellation of financing for settlements and increased budgets for universities. Placards condemned discrimination between Arabs and Jews.

Meir Wilner, Secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, speaking at a rally after the march, said, "The war in Lebanon does not serve Israel and the United States which funded it. We will not kill and be killed in the Lebanon war."

Nazareth

Fifteen thousand people rallied in May 1 Square, Nazareth. Speakers supported the rights of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

A guest speaker from the Democratic Republic of Germany, Rudolf Goodman, spoke about the struggles of the European peoples to promote a good future for humanity. He said the European peoples are against the siting of nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

Nazareth Mayor MK Tawfiq Zayyad spoke about both local and international issues. He criticised the Israelis for "crimes committed against workers of the occupied territories."

Haifa

May Day came a day early in Haifa. A march through the city's streets ended in Wadi Nisnas where speakers condemned the policy of the Likud Party.

Supporters of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality held a May Day festival of speeches and poetry in the village of Kufr Yasif, the Galilee.

Um al-Fahm

In Um al-Fahm, the Triangle, a popular meeting attended by an estimated 3000 people was organised by *Abna' al-Balad*. Representatives of *Abna' al-Balad* from eight villages spoke.

Speakers saluted workers of the world and Palestinian workers wherever they are. The main issue raised at the meeting was the comming parliamentary elections. Speakers criticised the Zionist parties for trying "to deceive the Palestinians in Israel to steal their votes in return for promises which are not honoured." (Translation: Local Press, May 2, 1984.)

Census Records Prove Abu Ali's Residency

Former political prisoner Abd al-Aziz Shahin, from Rafah, received fresh hope April 26 that he would be allowed to remain in the country after his lawyer obtained documents proving his residency in the Gaza Strip. Shahin is under threat of expulsion on the pretext that he was not counted in the Israeli census, which was carried out after the 1967 war.

Shahin's lawyer, Lea Tsemel, told *Al Fajr* that she will use the document during the next High Court hearing, scheduled for May 21. The paper, which is a copy of his registration in the census, will disqualify the authorities' claim that his stay in the Strip was illegal. This was the main plank of the original case against Shahin. The lawyer, however, will have to combat new claims that 'security reasons' are behind the decision to expel him. The authorities were planning to deport Shahin April 5 but were stopped by an Israeli High Court injunction pending a final ruling in the case.

Shahin, better known as 'Abu Ali,' was exiled in Dahniyah village, on the southern Gaza border with Egypt, one year ago. His exile came after a brief period of town restriction in his hometown of Rafah. Abu Ali, father of two sons, was released from prison in 1982 after serving a 15-year sentence on charges of armed resistance to the Israeli occupation.

International Workers' Day, May 1, was celebrated in the Galilee village of Kufr Yasif with a popular march.

'Distress System' Installed on Dan Buses in West Bank

Dan company, (a Tel Aviv bus company) have purchased 'warning systems' to signal a base of 'terrorist' attacks on buses running in the occupied territories. The system was installed following security problems for Dan's buses in the West Bank and repeated attacks on buses by guerrillas and a hostile population.

The distress system includes a communications set-up in the buses enabling the driver to inform the Dan centre and the military of entry and exit to the occupied territories. If a bus is attacked, the driver will give a signal and Israeli troops will be dispatched. The system, purchased from Motorola company, costs US$120,000 and has been installed in 25 buses.

Dan has four regular lines in the West Bank. Twenty buses run these routes and enter the occupied territories 42 times a day.

Some of the buses on West Bank routes have no warning systems. Gabriel Shemesh, the Dan company spokesman, said it is hard to guarantee that all the buses entering the area are equipped. "We have many excursions, workers' transport and irregular trips," he said.

Devices that would as far as possible eliminate bus hijackings and similar damage to public transport and the protection of the passengers were discussed April 24 at a special *in camera* session at the ministry of transport following the April 12 hijacking. Representatives of the Israeli army, police, the prime minister's advisor for combatting terror, the Egged and Dan transportation cooperatives and the transportation ministry participated. The ministry appointed a committee headed by the inspector of labour and including representatives of the army, the police and security people from the cooperatives for follow-up.

Following a demand from the minister, it was agreed cooperatives will oblige drivers to use the speaker systems in the buses to tell passangers to be alert for suspicious passengers and items.

The minister said he will check with the ministers of interior and justice on the possibility of giving public transport drivers the authority to check passengers' hand luggage, like the security people at cinemas.

There are speakers which are regularly checked in almost every Egged bus. (Translation: Hadashot, April 20, HaAretz, April 25, 1984)

Jenin Cosmetics Shop Taxed IS 1.8 Million

Israeli tax authorities in Jenin fined the owners of a neighbourhood cosmetics shop IS1.8 million on the pretext that they did not pay the occupation-imposed value-added-tax. The shopowners deny the charge and insist they have kept official books.

Israeli tax officials raided the *Kul Shai'* (Everything) cosmetics shop last week and seized the accounting records for tax inspection.

A few days later the owners were notified that they have not paid enough tax and that they must pay an additional amount.

Qadura Mousa, one of the shopowners, said that he and his partner keep complete records of their commercial dealings and that their tax reports are drawn up by a professional accountant, precisely in order to avoid such problems.

Mousa and his partner are planning an appeal to the Israeli military objections committee. He said he will go to court if the military do nothing.

Haifa U. Professor Interrogated On Education Policies

Israeli police detained Sami Mar'i, professor of education and psychology at Haifa University, April 24 for 24 hours. He was interrogated about a meeting with the PLO representative in England five months ago and about alleged comments he made against the Israeli education system.

Four Israeli policemen, three in plain clothes, came to Mar'i's Acre house at 1:30 am April 24 and asked him to accompany them to the police station for questioning. The policemen said he was not being formally arrested but specifically mentioned his trip to London as the subject of the interrogation. Instead of the police station, he was taken to Jalameh detention centre, near Haifa.

There, Mar'i, who is a prominent promoter of Palestinian culture, said he was questioned on his activities in *Sawt*, a Palestinian cultural society based in Nazareth. He was also interrogated about his role, along with others', to establish an Arab university in the Galilee — a project which Israeli authorities have refused to approve. Mar'i, who has been a member of Haifa University faculty for 13 years, was questioned on his trip to London, six months ago, and his meeting with the PLO representative there.

Mar'i was invited to London by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding (CAABU), where he spoke on the problems of education for Palestinians inside the 1948 border of Israel.

The Jerusalem Post added that Mar'i spoke last week against the Israeli education system at Kibbutz Shefayim at a meeting of Israeli and Palestinian pedagogues. He said that the only education system in Israel "is Jewish education" and that the curriculum for Arab pupils is based on considerations of "what is good for the Jews."

Mar'i was released after MK Shulamit Aloni, head of the Citizens' Rights Movement (*Ratz*), intervened with the authorities on his behalf.

During the past months several Palestinian activists from the Galilee — many from *Sawt* — have been harassed and questioned about their social activities. Father Fawzi Khouri, and Reverend Riyah Abu al-Asal, both members of *Sawt* and the Prisoners' Defence Committee, have been prevented from travelling, here and abroad, after being questioned on their activities.

Anti-Zionists Meet to Form Arab-Jewish Bloc

Democratic and progressive Palestinian and Israeli forces inside the 'green line' are attempting to form a joint Arab and Jewish progressive electoral bloc. One hundred and fifty representatives of Palestinian and Jewish forces, including *Ansar* in Um al-Fahm, a recent split from *Abna' al-Balad*, *Abna' al-Balad* of Kabul and Arrabeh, the Progressive Movement in Nazareth, the Revolutionary Communist League in Israel, the *Alternativa* and several individuals and political figures who consider themselves anti-Zionist met in Um al-Fahm April 28 to negotiate a general political platform of the Arab and Jewish bloc.

Ansar's political proposals centred on their demand to reach a democratic solution to the Palestinian cause by unifying Palestine under a democratic regime in which Arabs and Jews will be treated on an equal basis.

Michel Warshawsky, spokesperson of the Revolutionary Communist League, told *Al Fajr*: "The attendants of the meeting agreed that a radical change in Israeli society is needed, according to which it is possible for Palestinians and Jews to live in real peace and equality. In the meeting," Warshawsky said, "we agreed to reach for a political platform whose general political line is accepted by all forces." A drafting committee was elected from representatives of the Israeli and Palestinian progressive forces to survey the political points of agreement. Warshawsky told *Al Fajr* that all groups who attended the meeting agreed to compromise on tangential issues, such as what is the nature of the future Palestinian state. Warshawsky added that all attendants of the meeting declared that they are against Zionism. Warshawsky also said that the meeting's participants intentionally did not reach a final conclusion in order to keep the door open for other Palestinian and Israeli groups. A name and slogans of the bloc have not yet been decided.

There are still problems with the final make-up of the list and platform. According to sources in the movement, talks are underway with both the Uri Avneri, editor of *HaOlam HaZeh*, and Matityahu Peled 'wings' of *Alternativa*.

The sources said there are tensions among the participants over the degree of compromise they are willing to make with the principles of their platform in order to bring in these Zionist figures.

The final platform and proposed list of candidates will be published early next week, the sources said.

The bloc was described by other participants as a "real democratic front for peace and equality between Arabs and Jews."

Kamel Daher, a lawyer from Nazareth who supports the Progressive Movement, told *Al Fajr* that the movement is going to continue in their efforts to form a purely Arab bloc because he believes that the participation of Arabs and Jews in the existing Israeli parties is not based on equal grounds. The majority of the Israeli Communist Party — *Rakah* — are Arabs; only four percent are Jews. However, the number of Arabs and Jews in *Rakah's* politbureau are the same. On April 21, the Progressive Movement held a meeting in Nazareth to which political figures and local village councils were invited. The attendants discussed the idea of forming a purely Arab bloc. *Ansar* representatives who also attended the meeting called for the formation of an Arab and Jewish bloc. According to the regulations, names of the bloc members must be given to the Knesset 45 days before the elections. The general election will be in July.

The Dawn

AL FAJR

AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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Al Fajr was founded in 1972 by Yusef Nasr, who edited the paper until his kidnapping in 1974. The English edition was first published in April 1980. **The Dawn (Al Fajr) Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly (UPS 686630)** is published weekly for $50.00 per year by Paul Ajlouny, 16 Crowell St., Hempstead, N.Y. 11550. Second class postage paid at Hempstead, N.Y.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Al Fajr 2025 I Street N.W., Suite 925, Washington D.C., 20006.

A Near Massacre

On Friday, April 27 a massacre was barely avoided. Six Arab buses in the Jerusalem area were planted with 72 kilos of bombs timed to blow up during the busy Islamic feast of *al-Isra* and *Mi'raj* and at the most crowded hour of the day, after Muslim noon prayers.

If that operation had succeeded, a massacre of major proportions would have occurred. What frightens us, however, is the size of the operation and the professionalism shown by the terrorists. Various press reports indicate that over 20 Israeli Jews have been remanded, including army reservists and prominent settlement figures in the occupied territories.

It has been four years since bombs were planted in the mayors' cars, maiming three people, and other incidents also remain unsolved. More importantly, the Israeli society needs to stop hiding behind the slogan of 'Jewish extremists' and recognise that those so-called 'extremists' are everywhere.

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Palestinian, Israeli Tour US

by Ghassan Bishara
Our Washington, DC Correspondent

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the scars it left continue to give rise to sentiments, not only in the Middle East but in the US as well. Among those who are becoming more involved are mainstream American Jews. Thus a tour of the US by a Palestinian mayor now expelled from his country with a former Israeli army officer and academician on behalf of mutual recognition and peace became the subject of much media coverage and some controversy. Mohammed Milhem and Mordechai Baron's 17-city tour will end April 22.

Gail Pressberg of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), the force behind this peace tour of the US, is well-known for her pursuit of an acceptable accommodation between Palestinians and Israelis. The 'New Jewish Agenda,' a liberal Zionist group, Ms Pressberg told *Al Fajr*, is co-sponsoring the tour nationally, "which took us," she said, "five weeks across the country from diverse communities like Kansas City and Minneapolis to Los Angeles and New York City." The tour addressed groups as diverse as Jewish community relations councils, church audiences, students, the media and chapters of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). The visits into these communities were pre-arranged with and co-sponsored by local chapters of either churches, synagogues or Palestinian organisations.

With AFSC paying the bills, the background to this tour, she said, goes back to the period when the extent of Israel's destruction of Lebanon and the human casualties resulting from it became known. Concerned clergy, both Jewish rabbis and Christian ministers, shocked by what they had learned, "felt the need to really engage in Middle East issues," and thus the idea was born. The organisers, Gail Pressberg said, were clear that the Palestinian component in this affair should be from the 'nationalist spectrum,' where genuine Palestinian demands for self-determination through the PLO can be clearly expressed. "Our intention," she said, "was to find an Israeli and a Palestinian who would convey the message that Israel and the PLO had to negotiate on the basis of two peoples, two states [and] mutual recognition."

Mohammed Milhem, the expelled mayor of Halhoul, the West Bank, was the Palestinian participant and Mordechai Baron, an academician and a member of the Israeli Labour Party Central Council, was his Israeli counterpart. Baron, says Pressberg, realises that security for Israel would necessitate negotiations with the PLO, although, she added, he may not agree with PLO policy. Baron was unavailable for personal comments yet in a Washington, DC luncheon with the media, congressional and academic personnel he confirmed these views saying that "the PLO is the only Palestinian leadership" which Israel can talk to about a permanent solution. Baron also added that the majority of Israelis, even in the peace camp, don't accept this reality and consider the PLO an anathema. Baron compared the Palestinian-Israeli reality to that of Siamese twins who can't survive on their own without the realisation of each's dependence on the other.

In an article in the *San Jose Mercury News* March 25 Baron wrote that Israel must pursue peace as vigorously as it did war, adding that in this pursuit, "I must meet and negotiate with my enemy, not my enemy's friend, nor his cousin, nor his brother, nor with his arms merchant." Negotiations thus would be directly with the PLO. Baron also agrees that "Palestinians have a right to self-determination," and Palestinians in return should accept Israel's existence and "waive any dreams of reversing the history that was shaped by Israel's statehood in 1948." During last summer, when Israelis were settling "right smack in the centre of Hebron," Pressberg told us, she saw Mordechai Baron at work with Peace Now, demonstrating against the settlers. Baron, once an assistant to Moshe Dayan, a reserve colonel in the IDF and a Peace Now activist, played an active role in negotiating with the Israeli soldiers who were trying to stop Peace Now activists from reaching Hebron.

Gail said she had known Mohammed Milhem with Fahd Qawasmeh, the mayor of Hebron, before they were deported from the West Bank by the Israeli authorities in 1980. They both, she continued, "used to invite the Israeli peace movement to their towns to educate the Israelis about the occupation." This led Pressberg to believe that Milhem was open to such activites and she waited for his answer to her invitation for this undertaking since last summer.

Milhem, who had to cut short his tour to return to Jordan for family reasons, gave his approval following consultations with the Palestinian leadership. Milhem, according to Pressberg, "stuck very much to the basic issues" in his discussions, focussing on an "end to occupation — that a solution could only come through an agreement that includes the concerns" of the Palestinians inside and outside the occupied territories. Another of Milhem's points was that the PLO is the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, stressing the point that PLO acceptance of the 1982 Arab Summit Fez plan "proves that [they] have come to accept a Palestinian state" next to Israel on the occupied territories.

Mayor Milhem was well received by most American Jewish audiences. Pressberg said an exit poll conducted by a newspaper in California following one of the activities in a synagogue belonging to a mainstream Jewish American grouping found 25 percent believed either the Palestinian or Israeli speaker; 50 percent believed that in terms of negotiations there is a Palestinian-Israeli "consensus around where to begin at least; two percent were Jewish Defense League followers who were kicked out of the synagogue; and somewhere around 20 percent seemed confused. The point she emphasised was that "we can reach better than half of the audience of approximately 300 Jewish people." There also were other examples when a Jewish group invited Baron alone and for which a decision was made by all concerned that Baron should go alone and take responsibility for organising within the American Jewish community.

Israel Forbids a Substitute's Departure

Upon Milhem's return to Jordan, Pressberg wanted his substitute to be also from the occupied territories. The Israeli government, however, it became clear, would not facilitate the exit of any of those approached to work for peace.

Following Milhem's return Ms Pressberg told us, "None of the people in the Jewish community... wanted Baron to come alone. They wanted a Palestinian to come as well." Pressberg said she called a "number of people in the West Bank and down to a person they had difficulty getting travel permission." All of those approached, she continued, had requested travel permission for other purposes and were refused by the Israeli authorities. Her search for a substitute to Milhem then turned to the US, mainly looking for Palestinians who recently left the West Bank. Munir Fasheh, a professor at Bir Zeit University, eventually did four cities and Nafez Nazzal will do the remaining four cities.

At the luncheon held in the speakers' honour in Washington, DC Nazzal refuted the idea that the situation in the territories is irreversible. He expressed his view that Palestinians under occupation "prefer to stay where they are, even if they remain in control of only one percent of their land." Palestinians, he said, are there "to stay and to live alongside the state of Israel," rejecting any idea that peace can be reached in the Middle East without PLO participation. In an article corresponding to Baron's in the *San Jose Mercury News*, Milhem argued for peace and reconciliation between the Palestinian and the Israeli peoples through recognition of each others' rights. He also stressed that the PLO is the Palestinian people's choice with whom Israel and the US should talk regarding a solution to this conflict.

OPINION

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Students Swing – And Miss

by Paul Newton

Forced closures by the Israeli military authorities have repeatedly disrupted university life on the West Bank in recent years. The ominous phenomenon this academic year is the spate of equally damaging closures resulting from internal disputes.

A recent conflict was recorded in *Al Fajr* (English) as follows. UNRWA closed the Ramallah Men's Teachers Training Centre on April 8 until further notice. They claimed that students in the centre struck twice, in contravention of an agreement recently signed by their parents and guardians. They were given opportunities to resume studies, reminded of the signed undertaking and warned of the consequences of staying away from classes. Seeing no response, UNRWA was naturally forced to dismiss the trainees.

The students' statement bears little relation to these claims. They say that two members of the student council were expelled for discussing matters regarding student affairs and interests, and also beaten by the centre director. Though they agree little on the crux of the dispute, both sides would probably point to the administration's attempt to introduce the Jordanian-sponsored comprehensive exam as the original spark for the conflict.

To a graduate of Cambridge University, where the greatest student protest of recent years was a one-day sit-in attended by less than one-twentieth of the undergraduates, the unity and determination of a student population clearly prepared to sacrifice their studies in order to stand for their beliefs is impressive. Student councils in all West Bank academic institutions and universities were unanimous in their denunciation of the closure.

Other disputes have led to equally undivided stands. For example, when foreign lecturers were tempted into signing Israeli political declarations in order to receive their work permits, students in both Hebron and Bir Zeit quickly rallied to protest. The consequent relations were unfortunately acrimonious and student councils had been at fault in originally encouraging the signing, but nevertheless the unified student stance was impressive, and foreign lecturers will no doubt be less willing to take such risky steps in the future. In disagreements with administration over examination marking and university security, students have been equally strong and determined.

One major question hangs over the controversies. Why at this time have so many disputes erupted and with such violence, and why do students consider the issues so important as to lead them to disrupt their own studies? The answer perhaps has less to do with the nature of the disputes than with the general circumstance of university life under occupation.

The universities are reaching a time of crisis in their development. They have created courses and goals of admirable intention. But the fundamental facts of occupation, the almost complete lack of suitable employment for graduates, are leading to an atmosphere of frustration at the apparent aimlessness of study. What is the point of studying hard to learn the skills of an engineer when you will probably find only manual labour or unemployment? Why train to be a teacher, to work in crowded classrooms for an insulting pittance of a salary?

These are the real issues – the failure of universities to create challenging courses which are yet appropriate to the harsh realities of an economy under the thumb of Israeli occupation – which lie behind the current wave of disputes. But by their current actions, groups of students are becoming party to an aggravation of their own problems. They are pursuing a course of action which shows signs of tearing the educational institutions apart.

Priorities are needed. Is it more important to pursue grievances over short-term student interests or to work towards strengthened universities, more appropriately directed? If the answer is the former, then we can be sure that the Israeli authorities will sit back, and enjoy the spectacle.

Earlier this year **Uri Davis**, a 20-year veteran of the anti-Zionist movement in Israel, met PLO Chairperson Yasir Arafat. He submitted to *Al Fajr* this report of their conversation, which concentrated on their shared opinion that secular democracy should be the basis for the relationship between Muslims, Christians and Jews in the future Palestinian state.

Democratic Secular State: The PLO's Most Valuable Contribution

After exchanging greetings I opened the conversation by pointing out that in my view the most valuable contribution of the PLO to political developments in the Middle East was its commitment to a secular, democratic Palestine, and that it was because of its firm and unwavering commitment to this political programme that it had come under such severe attack not only from Israel and the US, but also from the Arab regimes, either directly or indirectly. I also stated my view that the welfare of the Jewish community in Palestine could only be secured through rigorous implementation of this programme.

Abu Ammar confirmed this. He described the lengthy discussions that the PLO leadership had had with the Islamic Unification Party in Tripoli during the siege there. The latter had urged the PLO to abandon its commitment to a democratic Palestine and replace it with the concept of an Islamic Palestine. This, Abu Ammar said, the PLO had rejected completely:

> "I told them that I considered myself to be effectively a head of state-in-the-making, head of an effective government-in-exile. I told them that this state, Palestine, would be answerable to all the inhabitants of Palestine: Jews, Christians and Muslims. But not only Jews, Christians and Muslims. There are Bahai inhabitants of Palestine; the Bahai religious centre is in Haifa. Liberated Palestine is to be their democratic state as well. The discussion with the Islamic Unification Party was long and heated. But there was no doubt in our minds. We are resolved to establish a democratic Palestine. Had it not been for the recent developments in Tripoli and the attack on us by the criminal Syrian regime, we would have been able to pursue further our intentions to invite officially a delegation of the Jews of Palestine to participate in the Palestine National Council."

I expressed my view that the Jewish community in Palestine was indebted to the PLO for the introduction and development of the programme for a democratic Palestine, and suggested that the PNC reserve seats for the representatives of the Jews of Palestine in the same way that seats are reserved for the representatives of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, most of whom cannot take up their seats at this stage for obvious reasons. Abu Ammar then repeated his concern for the welfare of the Jewish community in Palestine. What would their destiny be in 50 years? In 100 years? Why was it not obvious to them that their welfare rested with the peoples of the region and not as instruments in the service of imperialist powers against the peoples of the region?

I pointed out that in this context one of the most remarkable steps undertaken by the PLO in recent years was his appointment of the anti-Zionist Israeli exile Ilan Halevi as the successor to the late Issam Sartawi as PLO representative to the Socialist International. The educational value of this appointment would be far-reaching for Palestinian Arabs as well as Jews, demonstrating concretely the non-confessional and non-sectarian potential of the PLO as a liberation organisation. I urged him to expand on this initiative and secure its future development.

All Are the Same

by Attallah Najjar

'Peace Now' is considering running in the Israeli general elections, according to the latest reports. The final decision will be taken by the leadership of the movement within the next week... or two.

Like Israeli parties, the Peace Now movement is busy formulating its political, economic and social platform. A look at the political platforms of the various Israeli parties – excluding the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality – leads to one conclusion: all refuse to recognise the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and as a party to peace negotiations.

Israeli parties can be classified into two categories in this context. The first declare openly and explicitly that they will never negotiate with the PLO under any circumstances. This category includes the Likud, the Labour Party, Tehiya and others.

The second group also refuse to negotiate with the PLO but they try to wrap their refusal in a cloak of transparent demagoguery.

Mapam calls for negotiations with any Palestinian element which recognises Israel and relinquishes armed struggle, which it calls 'terrorist acts.' They call this the 'Yariv Shemtov formula' and its aim is obvious: to exclude the PLO.

Recently Ezer Weizman, a former Israeli 'defence' minister, came up with a new formula that is not less demagogic or obvious.

Weizman says: "I am ready to talk peace with any Arab head of state, be he King Fahd or King Hussein or even Hafez al-Assad." Again the goal is clear. It is the exclusion of the PLO and its Chairperson Yasir Arafat because he is not the head of a state.

Now it is Peace Now's turn to have a say in the matter. The movement called upon the Israeli government to express its readiness to negotiate with any Palestinian who sees negotiations as the path to solving the Palestinian problem. Their aim is also clear: to exclude the PLO.

The Palestinian people carry a gun in one hand and an olive branch in the other because this is the only way to achieve the Palestinian rights.

On this point I would like to argue with Peace Now. Members of this movement know and admit that the Israeli government carries the gun with both hands and insists on solving the Palestinian problem by force, as is happening in Lebanon now. Members of the movement are the soldiers and officers used by the government to implement its policies. Why then should they agree to use force against the Palestinian people and after that refuse to negotiate with the PLO because it uses arms?

They ignore the fact that the PLO is defending itself against their guns.

Finally we ask: "What would the leaders of Peace Now say if the PLO declared that it accepts to negotiate with an Israeli government that adopts negotiations rather than violence towards the Palestinian people?"

What would Mapam leaders say if the PLO declared that it accepts negotiation with any group of Israelis who recognise it and abandon the use of force?

What would Weizman say if Arafat showed willingness to negotiate with any Israeli prime minister who had no terrorist past?

We don't know what Weizman would say. But it is clear that in such a case, Israel would have to hire a prime minister from abroad. (Translation: Al Fajr, April 23, 1984.)

Livia Rokach was an Israeli-in-exile, who wrote and dreamed about a different future for her country, Palestine. Her suicide last month, at age 50, brought grief to her many friends within the Palestinian movement, but sentiments of another sort from Israeli Zionists, the representatives of the ideology which she fought against. Israeli journalist Yoav Karney was intrigued by the idea of the daughter of a founding father, mayor of Tel Aviv Israel Rokach, who left Israel for Italy as a propaganda-maker for the new state and eventually turned against it. His three-page article in *Yediot Aharanot*, here excerpted and abridged, is, despite its gossipy tone, an attempt to understand the logical conclusions of Israeli dissidence.

Livia Bore the Pain of the World on Her Shoulders

When I went to ask people about Livia Rokach — in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and in Rome — they all said: "But she was so beautiful." [Israeli actress - tr] Gila Almagor told me: "She was transparent. She was like a swan. I could look at her for hours. She had some *noblesse* in her. She was angular, sharp, thin." I open this incomplete story with a testimony about the beauty of Livia Rokach only because it is very hard for me to prove this. I never saw her. Never have I been shown a picture of her in her last 25 years. The sole recent photo that is published here was taken from her passport. Since she received an Italian passport only ten years ago, it is presumable that it was photographed when she was about forty.

In Rome I was told that she had diligently torn up all pictures of herself: her childhood, her youth in Tel Aviv, her military service. Apparently when she was standing and tearing them, she already knew she was saying farewell. A Lebanese friend of hers, the daughter of a diplomat in Rome, saw her three days before her death. I couldn't meet the Lebanese friend but I heard that she told her *ciao* without fixing another date.

In the foreign press club in Rome they saw her the last time on Saturday, March 31. On the morrow the police were called to the apartment house in central Rome. Water was streaming from the locked flat. The policemen broke in and found Livia Rokach dead. On the kitchen door was written, in her hand, the Italian words *"SFRATTO=ASSISINIO,"* ("EXPULSION=MURDER"). This was technical proof that Livia, daughter of Israel Rokach, had put an end to her life because she was forced to evacuate her home. But I have not met one person who believed the technical proof. Livia Rokach died because she couldn't contain her suffering soul anymore.

A political friend of hers — and it is important to know that in her latter years she had nothing but political friends — said: "I have never met a more suffering and heavy-hearted person. I have never met such a combination of contradictions in one person." How is it possible to tell this story without making an immediate judgement? When I flew to Rome to try and find out about her life, I knew only that she was the daughter of one of the artistocratic families of Zionism and the country's settlement. I knew that at the end of her life she came to totally negate the state of Israel and Zionism. Three years before her death she even broadcast in Hebrew from the PLO radio station (*Sawt Filastin*) in Beirut.

I had the opportunity to read in some Israeli newspapers the scholarly explanation that is called for on such occasions, that she was 'ill with self-hatred.'

I cannot contradict these explanations but after long discussions in Rome I only have the power ' y I am not so sure anymore.

She was born in Tel Aviv in 1934. Her father, Israel Rokach, and her mother, Esther, called her Livia. When she arrived in Italy, 27 years later, her name would be accepted as an Italian name.

In the year of her birth her father was the deputy of Meir Dizengoff, the first mayor of the Tel Aviv municipality. Her grandfather was Shimon Rokach, founder of the Neve Tzedeq quarter and a pioneer of (Jewish) citrus growers in Israel. The uncle of her father, Eliezer Rokach, was a founder of *'Hibath Zion,'* an early version of the Zionist organisation. The great-grandfather of Livia was Israel Bach, who erected the first Jewish settlement in modern times, an unnamed village on the top of the Jermaq ('Atzmon Mountain). Israel Bach brought the first printing machine to *Eretz Israel* (Palestine). His son, Nissan Bach, founded the first Jewish quarter outside the walls of Jerusalem.

A more historic atmosphere of mission and importance is hard to contain in a single house. You could say that in the tiny settlement in the mid-'30s Livia was born at the top. Not more than two years after her birth her father became mayor of Tel Aviv. In March 1959 Livia saw her father at his hour of greatest sorrow: the Tel Aviv municipality held its golden jubilee to celebrate 50 years since its founding and the man who was the mayor for 17 years was not even invited to attend. Rokach's heart broke. He died of a heart attack on September 13, 1959.

Rokach's funeral was crowded with people. His party's leaders followed his coffin. When the big crowd started to disperse, the stepping-up leader of the General Zionists, Yosef Sapir, approached the women of the Rokach house. Livia raised her hand against him and slapped Sapir's face. "They (Sapir and Yosef Serlin) embittered my father's life and this brought his end closer," she told *HaOlam HaZeh* at the time.

Edith Baroq, an Italian Jew, and Livia had been bosom friends but this stopped in the recent years. Ms Baroq sinned severely in the eyes of Livia: she participated in gathering a petition against the war in Lebanon, together with Italian Jews who are close to Peace Now. The initiators of the petition demonstrated afterwards in front of the Israeli Embassy in Rome. Livia's anger peaked. "I met her," tells Edith Baroq "and she was boiling with anger. She said that there should not be a demonstration in front of the embassy because it is an expression of recognition of Israel... she thought that if you demonstrate in front of the embassy you are automatically a Zionist. For her, everything connected with Israel was Zionist... I met her on the street, totally by accident, ten days before her death. I told her, *'Shalom*, Livia.' She looked at me with tremendous anger. How do I dare use the Hebrew word *'shalom'*?

"She lived with Pietro Butita (a famous journalist in Italy, son of a glorious S n poet). Pie was very pro-Israeli. I remember that before the 1967 war she even complained to some friends — not to me, of course — that they were too pro-Arab."

In the 1950s: 'Iri, Israel, Esther and Livia Rokach.

When Livia arrived in Italy, she held two letters of accreditation: for Israel Radio as a reporter and as the daily (Histadrut) *Davar* correspondent in Rome. I recall well her melodic voice: "This is Livia Rokach, Rome."

In Europe in the 1960s, a special sort of political climate prevailed. The smell of a general revolution was in the air. One of the promoters of the 'revolution' was the war in Vietnam. Livia Rokach became a medium of activity against the war, in Europe and the whole West.

Those were the days of great change for Livia. Danny Caravan remembers that on the eve of the 1967 war she fulfilled an important task in mobilising public opinion in Italy for Israel. But after two or three years she was already an overt critic of Israel. In 1972, Radio Israel and *Davar* stopped her work. The official reason given her from *Davar* was the eternal reason: the need for budget cuts. Livia didn't believe this, specifically because her successor was immediately appointed. She complained to her friend Danny Caravan that her work was stopped because of pressure from then Prime Minister Golda Meir. Golda — said Livia — also wanted to withhold her passport in order to force her to return to Israel.

To Uri Avneri she claimed that her work in *Davar* was stopped because of a single news item that was published on March 16, 1972. It related to the Italian Admiral, Birinaldi, who withdrew from military service and announced the same day that he had joined the Italian Social Movement, a fascist party in all respects. In a press conference in Rome, Livia asked Birinaldi about his fascist tendencies. He responded to her by saying: "Since the questioner represents a Jewish news agency, I wish to say that the victor of the Six Day War considers me his best friend. General (Yitzhak) Rabin and many other Israelis consider me as such.

Livia Rokach: "You mean that you have presented yourself as a candidate in the fascist list for General Rabin and the rest of the Israeli leaders, your friends?

Birindali: "Indeed so, and if I could say certain things... if General Rabin were here, no doubt he would back me up, that you are totally incorrect."

Following the publication of this news item, *Davar* published only one more article by Livia Rokach. The connection between her dismissal and her political views does not seem accidental. Even if *Davar* editor Hannah Zemer can't recall the case, Danny Caravan has no doubts: "That started the extremism. She was pushed out. This pushed her out of the business, drew her far away."

Several months after this, Livia became an Italian citizen through her marriage to the well-known socialist statesman Enzio Enricas Enioletti. Enioletti is today vice president of the Italian Senate and belongs to the independent left. You could call him an anti-establishment socialist.

"What disturbed Livia was the conformism, that consensus in Israeli society. You think someone is a patriot only if they support the government. But you must understand such a thing doesn't exist in the political and democratic culture of Europe. For European democrats, the government is one thing and the state and people another. The government lays down a policy and the people may object to it without anyone being considered 'unpatriotic.' She saw that in Israel this is not so.

"Her interest was not the shape of the political change. She was much more interested in the research and documentation side. She sat for years collecting material about what Israel did to the Palestinians, to prisoners, about infringements of human rights."

Livia Rokach's stand against Zionism became blatant, total, non-compromising. Zionism became bound up for her with imperialism, with the hated America, with systematic infringements of human rights, with Nazi oppression. One of the last documents she composed in her life — a summary of an international conference in Copenhagen about the treatment of torture victims internationally, included the following remark: "(Israel is one of) the main sub-agents of imperialism which has taken upon itself a central task as sub-contractor of oppressive technology far beyond its boundaries and regions, and also inside them."

The extremity in her views distanced her from many old friends. A man like Pietro Butita, for instance, almost disappeared from her life. Gilah Almagor recalls Butita's visit to Israel in 1977. He came with an Italian television crew to cover the [Egyptian President Anwar] Sadat visit. When Butita told Livia about his trip, she attacked him with horrible anger. So she treated everyone who travelled to Israel, or returned from it.

Almost everyone who knew Livia in her last years recalled her rigid pride: she had nothing but nevertheless insisted on entertaining at her house and obstinately bought gifts for her friends — and similarly invited them to dinners in restaurants in Rome. In her last three years she sent regular sums to a refugee family in Beirut. During the last two years she wrote for the English language version of the East Jerusalem newspaper *Al Fajr*. Only a few days ago I was informed that she didn't receive a penny from the newspaper because they have no money.

Weapons are Israel's only growth industry. Tom Segev examined the trade for *Koterit Rashit* recently and found there are no regimes to which they will not sell.

Israel's Arms Exports

The late Moshe Silberschatz, who died a few days ago, was described in the huge mourning advertisements as a pioneer in the Israeli textile industry. The advertisements testified that those who respect his memory come from many countries, but most if not all of them are not connected with the textile industry but with his son Avraham's business. Silberschatz Junior is chairperson of the Ayit Company Ltd, a military equipment for export enterprise in Tel Aviv, Ashkelon and Kiryat Shemona. The expressions of condolence reflected international ties. They stretch from Singapore to Thailand, from the Philippines to Korea, from France and the US to Guatemala.

A research study published at the beginning of April in Tel Aviv states that Israel's arms trade involves dozens of other states, including Iran, Indonesia, Malaysia and Morocco. The author, Professor Aharon Kleiman, from Tel Aviv University, estimates that the range of Israeli arms exports is now US$1 billion per annum, more than 20 percent of the general industrial exports of the state. Israeli arms and military equipment plants employ about 60,000 workers, one out of every five Jewish production workers. Altogether they make a living for perhaps 250,000 Israelis.

Kleiman's, estimates of Israel's arms exports put it in 12th place in the list of arms-exporting states. The US, France and Britain combined have 75 percent of the arms exports to the third world. There is no state which considers Israel its main source of arms; there is no world trouble spot burning under the influence of Israeli arms supplied to an involved party. Kleiman tends, therefore, to count Israel with the medium-sized arms exporters.

Moral Dilemma — It Doesn't Exist

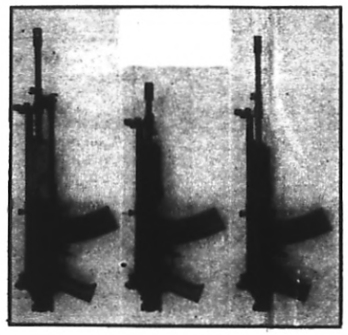
Kleiman is a professor of political science. His research is based on public information published abroad. The Tel Aviv University Centre for Strategic Studies, which published the study, printed a reservation in the foreword stating that the work is not the view of the centre but that of the author. However, among the editors of this series of publications is minister (of science and technology) Yuval Ne'eman, former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, former chief of staff Mordechai Gur and three former heads of army intelligence: Yehoshafat Harkabi, Aharon Yariv and Shlomo Gazit. The research, published in English, passed censorship; it is uncritical. It will be read everywhere, therefore, as a semi-official document.

The author tends to ignore, or at least reduce, the importance of the moral dilemma involved with arms exports, as if it didn't exist. He maintains that the arms exports of Israel reflect political, defence and economic interests of the state. Most buyers of Israeli-produced arms are in the third world. Those cited are usually tyrannical regimes of right-wing orientation, according to Kleiman.

They need Israeli arms to prepare for what Kleiman describes in clear language as 'threats from home' — in other words, in order to persecute and oppress political opponents. There are grounds, of course, for the claim that it is not in Israeli interests that arms produced by it damage human rights and oppress individual freedom. Kleiman doesn't comment on this. He accepts what he calls the accepted definition of the interests of the majority of Israelis. He presumes, apparently, and justifiably, that the majority of Israelis don't want to know who buys Israeli arms, who is killed by them and why.

IMPORTANT ISRAELI ARMS SALES, ACCORDING TO REGION AND STATES

Country	Item	Quantity	Order Year	Supply Year
Kenya	missile boats	2	1978	
	Gabriel missiles	48	1978	1979
	Gabriel missiles		1981	1982
Morocco	AMX Tanks armoured personnel carriers			
South Africa	missile boats	6	1977	
	missile boats (by license)		1979	
Swaziland	Gabriel missiles	108	1977	
	Arava planes	1	1979	
Zaire	Galil guns			
Rhodesia	Bell helicopters	11	1978	1978
Indonesia	Skyhawk planes	14	1979	1980
	Skyhawk planes	2	1979	1980
Iran	renovated jet engines			
	spare parts for M-60 tanks			
	tyres for Phantom planes		1981	
Malaysia	Gabriel missiles			
	Skyhawk planes	65	1979	
	Mirage planes		1979	
Singapore	Gabriel missiles			
Taiwan	Gabriel missiles	4	1977	
	Shafrir missiles			
Switzerland	Arava planes	1	1979	1979
	ammunition for tanks		1981	
	tank renovation programme		1982	
West Germany	Westwind planes	4	1980	1981
Mexico	Arava planes	10		
USA	anti-missile missile-launchers communications systems	10,000	1982	
El Salvador	Arava planes	5		
	Mystere planes	4		1981
Guatemala	Arava planes	9		
	Kfir planes		1979	
	Galil guns	10,000		
Honduras	Galil and Uzi guns			
	Arava planes			
	Westwind planes			
	coastal patrol boats			
Argentina	renovated Mirage planes	26	1978	
	Mirage planes		1978-82	1979-81
	Gabriel missiles	18	1982	
	unidentified planes	24	1982	
	Shafrir missiles			
	patrol boats	6		
Bolivia	Arava planes	6		
Chile	Shafrir missiles		1979	
	missile boats		1979	
Columbia	Arava planes	3	1980	
	field cannons		1982	
	tanks		1982	
	Kfir planes	12	1981	1982
Ecuador	Kfir planes	12	1981	
	bombs, missiles		1982	
Venezuela	Arava planes	2	1980	1981
	artillery missiles	25	1982	
	Kfir planes	24		



"The arms industry of Israel is based on the interests of a powerful lobby of the heads of the defence and industrial establishments, including the Histadrut (trade union) industry... A common military history strengthens their tendency to judge policy according to immediate results."

Kleiman says that there is a 'Jewish element' in Israeli arms exports. Israel is sensitive to the defence of Jewish communities in some of the states that purchase arms and military equipment from it; there are states which consider Israel the key to chances of mobilising Jewish financial investments and to improving their image in the US. Some of them suffer from a negative image in the world and from diplomatic isolation, says Kleiman.

So negative is the image and so deep the isolation so far that there is no one but Israel who will sell them the arms they ask to purchase. Kleiman praises Israel's success in contacts through the arms business with states like West Germany, Iran, Argentina and Zaire whose influence has increased over the years. To some extent this is also true of South Korea and Taiwan.

The arms business also helps Israel overcome the diplomatic isolation imposed on it by the Arabs, says Kleiman. He quotes news items according to which Israel sells military equipment to the People's Republic of China and Ethiopia, and he is for it. Kleiman states: "If indeed the Marxist regime of Chairman Manganisto in Ethiopia decides to invite Israel to come in instead of some of its Soviet military advisors, not only might Israel profit from this (by the opening of air travel between Adis Ababa and Tel Aviv) but the whole West because an Israeli presence in the Horn of Africa will change the strategic balance in favour of the West."

Recently it was published that Israel renewed its military connections with Ethiopia after Ethiopian soldiers that were trained by the Soviets were defeated in battles against rebels in Eritrea.

Tanks to Morocco, Jet Engines to Iran

Kleiman quotes a list of military equipment Israel sold which included tanks and armoured personnel carriers to Morocco (undated), Skyhawk planes to Indonesia (1980), renovated jet engines to Iran (ordered in 1981), and Gabriel missiles to Malaysia (ordered in 1979).

The Israeli arms industry was developed in the 1950s to overcome the refusal of the major powers to sell the Israeli army the equipment it needed. During the first years the Israeli army was virtually its sole client but at the beginning of the 1980s the Israeli army purchased only 35 percent of the aviation industry's products and about 38 percent of the Israeli arms industry's production. All the rest was sold abroad.

Kleiman says Israel's continued export success depends to a large measure on the continuation of arms exports. If a decision is taken to stop or reduce them, "for instance on the basis of moral considerations," says Kleiman, there will be severe damage to the Israeli economy and the whole society. No wonder, therefore, that most of the Israelis support arms exports even though most of them, if not all, don't exactly know what they are.

Policy decisions on this matter are made in the special ministerial committee headed by the prime minister; they are carried out by the deputy general director for exports in the defence ministry. Apparently there are only a few people who know all the data. Secrecy covering the subject avoids public dispute. If more were known about the buyers of Israeli arms and those killed by them perhaps more Israelis would divorce themselves from the present export policy — to sell everything to everyone who is prepared to pay. Kleiman claims that he is for a public debate but in his research he complains about 'leaks' of some details of deals between Israel, Iran and Argentina. He doesn't advise on how is it possible to debate a subject when there is no information.

The arms industry of Israel is based, he says, on the interests of a powerful lobby of the heads of the defence and industrial establishment, including the Histadrut (trade union) industry. They know and help each other to influence the government to expand exports. Their influence is big. Besides common interests, they have a common world view and a similar mentality. They identify their specific interests with the interests of the state. A common military history strengthens their tendency to judge policy according to immediate results; they are pragmatic and tend to be cynical at what seems to them to be false moral norms.

Kleiman maintains that Israel's security exports have reached their limit. He says various signs point to the fact that they will not expand further and there is data that indicates a decrease this year, he says. Among other things, this information comes from the war in Lebanon and the economic crisis in the country, which makes it difficult to extend production. Decline is also indicated by the fact that some of the states that used to purchase arms in Israel, among them Brazil, Singapore and South Korea, have learned to produce themselves. Kleiman is not sorry for that. He quotes an opinion that arms exports should not be over 25 percent of the general total of exports in order that the state doesn't find itself dependent for its livelihood on a branch that by its nature is unstable and unpredictable.

(Translation: Koterit Rashit, April 4, 1984.)

The CIA has recently suffered set-backs in Nicaragua after Congress refused them funds for their subversion. One week later Israeli foreign ministry director general David Kimche was in Washington to discuss "an expanded Israeli role" in the region.

Al Fajr reprints this report by former CIA spy Philip Agee with the notation that CIA destabilisation techniques in Latin America — the use of the press, international finance and infiltration of local institutions — are also common in the Middle East.

The Mark of the CIA: Provocation, Assassination, Conspiracy

A former spy for the CIA — he worked for 12 years in Latin America — Philip Agee is well-placed to describe the mechanisms of intervention. In a book to be published shortly by EPO publications (only in Dutch), Agee describes the machinations of this large American intelligence service in Nicaragua. In 1981, Agee visited Sandinista Nicaragua for the first time. In spite of the difficulty of finding tangible proof of subversive action by the CIA, "its presence was clearly recognisable," he says.

A scenario: an international campaign promoting the organisation of free elections and the right of the opposition to organise could weaken the Sandinista revolution. Slogans like 'return to the bunkers' and 'the revolution has been betrayed' are based on the argument that one dictatorship replacing another will have the same effect. One could accuse the local committees of defence of constituting political networks. As for the electoral campaign, the CIA could place enormous sums at the disposal of 'its' candidates. A climate of tension, fear and insecurity could cause flight from the major cities, aggravate the economic situation and provoke the departure of skilled workers and other members of the middle class who would no longer feel secure. One could 'create' traitors or refugees and the international press could then make a great fuss about their flight. Acts of violence and assassinations could create the disired psychological climate. The military forces of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala — probably the CIA's best allies in the region — could be reinforced in order to provoke frontier clashes, increasing the tension.

Finally, to expand this scenario, the CIA could preside over 'moderates' replacing 'radicals' in the political and military arenas. If all these efforts fail or do not produce the desired results, American diplomacy can always intervene and once again propose dispatching international peace-keeping troops. This proposition was already formulated by the OAS (the Organisation of American States) in July of 1978 shortly before the Sandinista victory.

The Press and International Financial Institutions

In the event of intervention in Nicaragua, the CIA will not act alone.

The collaboration of other organisations is dispensable. American delegates in international financial institutions and in the import-export trade could take an order to refuse requests for credit. Beyond permanent action undertaken by the CIA, American diplomats and American officials could move to influence other heads of state.

American businessmen with commercial ties to Nicaragua could report on investment and other activities which stimulate the employment market. The American press can play an important role in propaganda campaigns against Nicaragua.

Would the US president tell the CIA to execute its plans in spite of the problems which would follow destabilisation in Nicaragua? If the situation evolves as it did in Cuba 20 years ago, the candidate, afraid of losing the elections, will seek to bolster his image as a 'man of force' before the American electorate. Constant disinformation about crises caused by the presence of Russian or Cuban troops increases the danger for Nicaragua.

Draining Confidence in the Revolution

It is still too early to say whether the CIA will find in Nicaragua even this 'moderate' opposition to follow American interests or whether the CIA must create it from scratch. The CIA has at its disposal many opportunities for alliance with the partisans of the Somoza regime in order to realise its political objectives. The CIA also has favourable grounds for its counter-revolutionary activites among those opponents of Somoza whose interests are at odds with the revolutionary programme.

To counter the destabilising aims of the CIA, it is necessary to develop plans to neutralise its activities. Sandinista security services must strengthen efforts to reveal agents of the CIA and its functionaries in special missions. Appropriate steps could be taken to block its functionaries from infiltrating and draining the revolution. Particular attention must be given to the inevitable provocation aimed at dividing the revolutionary direction and undermining confidence. It is necessary to be totally conscious of danger and to strengthen the political and revolutionary organisation in order to successfully counter attempts at destabilisation.

Sandinista policy threatens American interests in Latin America: the literacy campaign, the introduction of adequate security, the nationalisation of Somoza's property, agrarian reform and the mobilisation of the people to develop and defend the revolution. On the international level, the Sandinistas have joined the non-aligned camp. Washington, which has intervened military in Nicaragua and in the Caribbean region, was correctly judged the only threat to the revolution. Cuba has supported the Sandinista regime from the beginning. Thousands of doctors, teachers, military advisors, technicians and skilled workers were sent to Nicaragua. Nicaragua constitutes an international threat not on the military level but because of the example it provides. The Sandinistas proved that a guerrilla war could defeat even the worst dictatorship, a dictatorship installed and maintained by the US. The armed combatants of El Salvador and Guatemala have been encouraged by the Sandinista success in Nicaragua and have intensified their attacks on the military regimes in their countries.

Not three months passed after the Sandinista victory before 'reformist' Salvadoran officers staged a *coup d'etat* in El Salvador. They established a *junta* composed of military personnel and civilians. They promised liberalisation and long overdue economic and social reforms. But these reforms failed at the hands of rightist opposition forces and 10s of thousands were killed by government troops and paramilitary organisations. In 1980, the revolutionary movement reinforced itself. When, in 1981, the Salvadoran revolutionaries united under the FMLN and undertook their 'final offensive' (which failed), President Carter, a few days before vacating his position for Reagan, approved new military aid to the Salvadoran government and sent 19 military advisers to El Salvador.

Barely a month after taking office, Reagan increased military aid for 1981 from US$10 million to US$35 million, which brought the number of military advisors up to 54. In addition, he promised to approve another US$131 million in economic aid over the next two years.

In contrast to Carter, Reagan and his first secretary of state, Alexander Haig, considered Cuba, Nicaragua and the Eastern bloc responsible for the civil war in El Salvador and for the misery, exploitation and injustice which reigns in that country. Few politicians in the US and abroad share Reagan's point of view.

The CIA: Propaganda Doesn't Change

For the first time, at the end of 1981, I spent a month in Nicaragua. I was surprised to notice that most of the things I had expected two years earlier had become reality. It was impossible to prove the existence of CIA operations, but its mark was easily recognisable. On the propaganda front, the widow of Joaquim Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa* (the most important Managuan daily) and who was proclaimed a martyr, had thrown herself with the opposition against the Sandinistas. This paper had become the declared enemy of the revolution. Its propaganda techniques suspiciously resembled those used by *Mercurio* in Chile during the (elected President Salvador) Allende regime and by the *Daily Gleaner* in Jamaica during the presidency of Michael Manley. Numerous private enterprises were united under COSEP, an anti-governmental organisation.

The American Institute for Free Labour Development (AIFLD) which, as the world knows, works for the CIA, attempted without much success to reinforce two small opposition trade syndicates. AIFLD achieved better results with respect to agricultural syndicates in the north. In the past, the national guard had already recruited without much difficulty in this region and today they continue to muster men for the counter-revolutionary troops in this region.

The Official Church and the Sects

The Catholic Church is deeply divided between the religious authorities directed by the archbishopric of Managua and the grass roots communities which support the revolution. One of the religious authorities' tactics consists of placing the most competent priests in regions where their political influence is limited. The remarkable spread of North American Christian sects which have created missions in the agricultural regions and the small towns also constitutes a threat to the revolution. The sects do not blatantly preach counter-revolution but they divert the attention of people from political activities. (Translation: Solidaire, February 29, 1984.)

BILLIONS TO ISRAEL FROM THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER

by Mohammed Rabie

American Aid to Israel, by Mohammed al-Khawas and Samir Abed Rabbo; Amana Books, 190 pages, no price given.

The publication of *US Assistance to the State of Israel* a report by the US General Accounting Office, in June 1983, enabled a much needed discussion on the magnitude and role of American aid to Israel. The report revealed that despite an increasing US budget deficit, which is considered by many financial and economic experts to pose the most serious threat to the potential growth of the US economy, both the Reagan administration and Congress elected to increase the amount of assistance given to Israel. Furthermore, because of Israel's growing dependence on US aid, it will have to be given in the form of grants.

American Aid to Israel pulls together some valuable facts and ideas on the scope of US aid to Israel and reveals some previously undisclosed information concerning its impact on Israel's economy and military strength.

Successive US administrations have supplied Israel with US$28.1 billion in military and economic aid since 1949, of which over half (US$14.6 billion) has been given as grants. US$25.3 billion of this was given after the 1973 war, of which US$14.2 billion were outright grants. In military assistance alone, the US gave Israel a total of US$19.1 billion between 1948 and 1984. Finally, for fiscal year 1985, Congress and the Reagan administration have allocated about US$2.6 billion, in grants.

Despite Israel's relatively small population, it receives approximately 25 percent of all US foreign aid. This exceeds American assistance to Latin America by about one-third and is more than twice the amount allocated to the entire African continent.

Official US aid, however, is by no means the sole source of American assistance received by Israel. Contributions from individuals, private institutions and the sale of Israeli government bonds presently amount to over US$1 billion a year. They have totalled more than US$14 billion between 1948 and 1984.

There is also direct American investment in Israeli economic activities (US investments constitute approximately 55 percent of total foreign investments in Israel); the extension of credit facilities by the US Import-Export Bank (which have exceeded US$1.1 billion between 1949 and 1983); the exemption of Israeli products from US import duties (thus saving Israel the duty on more than US$1 billion worth of products annually); free access to highly advanced technical know-how, used primarily to manufacture military hardware that eventually competes with American products in foreign markets; and finally, the transfer of billions of dollars, initially deposited in US branches of Israeli banks.

These other forms of aid, though not as well publicised, play a crucial role in developing Israel's industrial and exporting capacities, and in meeting its foreign currency needs.

The authors quote figures for total assistance received by Israel from US sources at between US$9 and $10 billion annually. In per capita terms, direct American aid to Israel exceeds US$1000 per person and amounts to more than US$10 million per day, much of which is paid by the American taxpayer and funnelled away from needed social programmes for the American poor and unemployed. Direct and indirect annual aid is actually more than US$2000 per person, greater than the average per capita income in the Arab world.

The role US aid has played in Israel can be divided into four main categories:

(1) The Strategic Cooperation Agreement between Israel and the US which was signed in 1981 and has enabled Israel to invest a large portion of US military aid in the development of its own military industry, particularly such sophisticated equipment as the Merkava tank and the Lavi plane. It has also obliged the US government and military industrial complex to buy Israel-produced parts and equipment. The agreement also permitted other recipient countries of US aid to use some of that money for the purchase of Israeli military equipment and services. Such policies have been detrimental to the US military industry, primarily because they have resulted in the loss of some of its traditional arms markets, mainly in Latin America, to Israel. This, in turn, has contributed to the elevation of unemployment figures in the US. In addition, these policies have aided Israel in its development of an export market for its military hardware, which presently accounts for 40 percent of its total exports and has enhanced Israeli prestige and influence in many Latin American, African and Asian countries. Joseph Hirsch of *The Christian Science Moniter* expressed his disapproval of these practices by saying, "The American taxpaye is paying for Israel's standard of living, for its wars, for its conquests and for those settlements that are going up throughout the occupied Arab territories."

(2) US aid is used to service Israel's foreign debt, estimated by *The Financial Times* of London to have reached US$32 billion by the end of 1983. It has also provided the funds needed for the purchase of military equipment, thereby relieving the pressure on Israel's domestic revenues, and enabling the government to use these revenues for other domestic programmes.

(3) US support also enables Israelis to maintain a high standard of living, which despite its artificial base, attracts a large number of Jewish immigrants.

(4) Finally, this support allows Israel the luxury of resisting international and domestic pressure in seeking a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

In both regional and international terms, this last factor is perhaps the most important. US aid to Israel, instead of contributing to the search for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict has, in fact, contributed to its acceleration. It has provided Israel with the means to launch wars against its Arab neighbours, to occupy their land, and to suppress Palestinians. The Arab world increasingly has turned to the Soviet Union for military hardware in an effort to halt Israeli aggression, and this has led to an escalation of the arms race in the Middle East.

Finally, many countries in the Arab world have been plagued by domestic dissent, often resulting in military coups in an attempt to forestall future Arab defeats and further blows to Arab pride. Throughout the Middle East, Israel included, the focus on military build-up has diverted badly needed funds from economic and social programmes, while governments attempt to deal with successive crises caused by the continual state of war in the region.

In spite of the fact that Israel has rejected every American peace initiative or proposed solution to the Palestinian question, the US has been satisfied with token promises on the part of Israel to consider future assessments of the situation. In exchange for these non-binding statements, Israel has been able to extract substantial increases in American military and economic aid:

— In 1971, following the Rogers plan, Israel received a total of US$545 million in US military assistance in contrast to only US$30 million in the previous year.

— In 1976, following US then-Secretary of State Kissinger's disengagement agreement in the Sinai, Israel received US$1.5 billion in US military assistance, including US$850 million in grants, in contrast to $1 billion the previous year.

— In 1979, following President Jimmy Carter's Camp David accords, Israel received US$4 billion in US military assistance, including US$1.3 billion in grants, in contrast to US$1 billion in the previous year.

— In 1983, following Secretary of State George Shultz's Lebanese accord, the Reagan administration decided to release the F-16 fighter-bombers, which were orginally being withheld "until the Israeli forces leave Lebanon." Under this agreement, the Israelis have agreed to pull out of Lebanon only when other foreign troops — Syrian and the PLO — withdraw. (p.79)

American military and economic aid to Israel, despite its extensiveness, has failed to help build, or even stabilise the Israeli economy. Futhermore, it has not contributed to the creation of peace in the Middle East but has, in fact, exacerbated the tensions there. American aid is, at the present time, considered to be the major reason for Israel's repeated refusals to abide either by the resolutions passed in the United Nations or by the polices set by the American government. William Rasberry in *The Washington Post* put it this way: "Those were American planes and missiles and tanks that smashed into Lebanon, leaving thousands of dead and maimed civilians, women and babies, in their wake. At some point, we will have to ... deal with the fact that weapons, supplied by us on the hard understanding that they will be used only for defensive purposes, have been used to slaughter innocents who were no threat to Israel." (*Washington Post* June 28, 1983.) That Israel has consistently flouted American directives regarding the use of US military hardware has made a mockery of these directives and has consequently embarrassed the administration, Congress and the State Department.

American Aid to Israel is a well written, readable book on this very important subject. It leaves the reader with a more complete understanding of the extensiveness of American aid as well as the manner in which this aid is used.

The purpose of this book would have been better served, however, had the authors devoted the final chapters to an analysis of the impact American aid to Israel has upon the US economy as well as upon America's credibility in the international arena. Nonetheless, all those interested in American policies in the Middle East as well as those seeking answers to the current administration's emphasis on cutting needed domestic social and welfare programmes will find this book very valuable.

continued from page 7

LIVIA

At the end of the 1970s she was close to a circle of leftist clergy who publish a periodical called *Com-Nuovi-Tempi*. In it she published material about the Palestinians in Lebanon and Israel. The guiding light in that periodical is former senior clergyman Giovanni Francioni, who now works in the Rome municipality. Formerly, Francioni was the father of the Basilica San Paulo. He was equivalent to a bishop.

Francioni: "She had a very strong personality. You couldn't cut one word from an article she wrote without her taking strong offence and becoming angry.

"The basis of her suffering was an uncompromising pursuit of truth — even when it was impossible to publish the truth because, let's say, it would endanger life.

"I remember a year ago we tried to call her for three successive days. We were sure that she had already committed suicide. Finally she responded and cried: 'Now you remember me. I'm not worth anything anymore in your eyes!"

On July 1, 1983 Livia wrote to Giovanni Francioni: "Since I cannot be of use to you anymore, I end this my participation in your paper."

A short time later she went to friends in Switzerland. She already knew that she would have to leave her flat in central Rome. In Geneva she met one of her last friends, lawyer Felicia Langer.

Langer: "She came especially to see me from Bern. She escaped from Rome, she said: 'I must guard my sanity. I'm running away to Bern.'

"I was there at the UN conference on the Palestinians. She came to that luxurious hotel. And luxury angered her so much. Apparently she was not able to bear the contradiction between the hotel and the refugee camps in Beirut.

"We sat together for hours. Indeed she had hope. However, there was something very sad in her which frightened me. I started to talk with her about love, about a man's love, about closeness. And she was escaping. But for the first time she told me about the husband (Enricas Enioletti — she was not telling much about him to her friends — Y.Q.). I asked her if it was possible for them to get together again. 'Impossible.' And then I asked if he still loved her. She answered: 'Yes. This is exactly the problem.'

Livia Rokach returned to Rome in the autumn of 1983. She continued to write for *Al Fajr* for another few months and to appear in the Basso Foundation office in Rome from time to time where she was documenting infringements of human rights in Lebanon and in the occupied territories. On March 15, 1984 she wrote farewell letters to her frineds in *Al Fajr* and Felicia Langer. She posted the letters only on March 29. She put her will in an envelope on which she wrote: 'Senator Enzio Enricas Enioletti.' On the kitchen door she wrote: 'Expulsion=Murder.'

After that Livia Rokach left the world with a clenched fist, without a little sorrow. She instructed that her body be burned and her ashes be scattered over Rome. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, April 22, 1984.)

Al-Wihdat Ballgame

by Adnan Jaber

Forbidden to openly support the PLO, Palestinian refugees in Jordan developed a new means to express their identity with the PLO political line. Wihdat, a refugee camp in Amman of 25,000, developed after the 1970 civil war in Jordan a competitive football team which won important matches in and out of Jordan. Thousands of spectators coming from all parts of Jordan attend Wihdat's matches. Several hundred Jordanian police also attend the matches wielding heavy clubs to 'pacify' Wihdat supporters who sing Palestinian national and militant songs. Kids and grown-ups in every village or refugee camps wear T-shirts saying 'I love You Wihdat,' which most people understand to mean 'I love you Palestine.' Palestinian drivers honk their car horns in a special 'short-short-long-long-long' signal of affection to Wihdat.

Jordanian senior government officials attempted several times to pay amounts to take over the administration of the Wihdat athletic club and change its name to 'Husseini Athletic Club.' The Wihdat footballers are also deluged with offers from other clubs.

It was late Autumn 1976. The air was a little cold indicating the coming of winter, rain, mud and slowed movement.

Ads for the game went up quickly all over Amman. They were distributed in the streets, at stores, and in public places. The words moved from eyes to hearts as people's excitement grew. Al-Wihdat team, which was going to play, had a lot of fans. When they played, people formed long lines outside the stadium in Amman. When the games finish, the people leave as if they were going on a demonstration. The stadium looks like a sea of people talking, arguing, and yelling. Policemen enter the stadium and take positions at different spots. Secret service men also mingle with the spectators.

"Ahmad, today al-Wihdat plays al-Faisali."

"I know," answered Ahmad.

Actually when Jihad told his friend, he was already aware Ahmad knew about the game. He mentioned it only to express his enthusiasm and impatience to see a good game. He was also trying to see if they could go to the game together. It wasn't an odd coincidence anyhow since it happened like this before.

Ahmad and Jihad were good friends. The world which brought them together was the streets where they met every day.

Ahmad has a shoe polish box. He searches for dirty shoes that need polishing. He looks first at the shoes of the passers-by, then looks at their faces. If he sees someone with dirty shoes, he starts yelling "polish, polish," looking at the man's face as if calling him over to get a shoe polish. But if he sees a clean shoe, he does not waste time or effort of looking at the face and stays quiet. Anyway, Ahmad carries a difficult slogan: "Eat your food with honour." There is nothing wrong with this except that Ahmad adds "clean the people's shoes and never ask for charity."

Ahmad is a quiet boy and very proud. He never hurt anyone and throughout his career as a shoe polisher, he never said anything bad to anyone.

One time a hoodlum came to get his shoes cleaned. He had on really old and worn-out shoes. Even though Ahmad was not sure how to clean this old shoe, he agreed and did not show any sign of objection. The hoodlum, however, told Ahmad "I don't have any money." Ahmad then told him to get lost. The hoodlum said "Don't you clean on credit?" Ahmad stood up and cursed the boy's mother. He took the tin can he was sitting on and made to hit the hoodlum with it, but he ran away and hid among the people.

That was the only time Ahmad lost his temper.

Ahmad was excited because he was going to watch a soccer game. Al Wihdat was his favorite team.

He would rest some from cleaning shoes. He will not find anyone who wants his shoes cleaned while the game is on and everyone is excited about it. But Ahmad will not envy his friend Jihad who carries a board to sell cigarettes and chewing gum. These things sell quite well.

They walked together. When they got closer to Sports Town, the number of people grew. Children, students, workers, even very old men. They saw an excited girl which made them wonder what she was doing among all these men and about her relationship to soccer. A man with a cast on his leg using crutches drew their attention. He was moving lightly lifting his crutches in the air. Then he would hit them on the ground and push his body forward as if he was flying. A young man was walking next to him wearing the dirty uniform of a mechanic, and trying hard to fly alongside his friend.

The players took their places on the field. Some started jumping in the air and the others were moving their bodies in waves. The mid-field players were getting their legs ready and looking at their counterparts from al-Faisali who were chewing gum and moving their legs up and down getting ready to start the game.

The referee looked at his watch point to 4:00. He whistled a start to the game and the crowd started yelling immediately. Cheers were heard from everywhere. They grew louder as al-Wihdat's left-wing shot and just missed the goal. It didn't score, but al-Wihdat fans screamed in appreciation and to boost morale. "Sweeter than a goal. Swear by God, sweeter than a goal."

Al Faisali players started putting on pressure. One of them, known as Haj Ali, moved the ball quickly and shot at the goal. He scored.

Al-Faisali fans were very happy. Everytime al-Wihdat players shot badly, al-Faisali fans would send out sarcastic cries. "Oh...Oh...Oh". This would upset al-Wihdat fans who were sitting near the field. They yelled back and lifted their fists in the air towards the place where al-Faisali fans were sitting, up on the higher levels in the stadium.

Jihad was yelling, and Ahmad was screaming what sounded like "Wihdat, Wihdat. Come on Wihdat we want a goal." He was with the Wihdat from the beginning to the end. He is from that camp. It was there his late mother used to let him carry water and bread to the *fedayin* during the September 1970 fighting. Ahmad used to run to different places. He used to like, at 10, to collect empty shells left by the *fedayin* artillery as they fired at the monarch's regular army which was closing in on the camp.

Ahmad used then to cry out heated slogans just like now as he was watching the football game. That was a different kind of game, but for little Ahmad, it was a game to play in and jump everywhere like a bird, and collect empty shells which were still hot. He would carry them between his little hands with the smell of powder still coming from them. His childish interest did not end until a disaster happened. A shell fell on him and his mother. She was killed and he was hit by shrapnel in the shoulder and face. His mother used to say his was a very beautiful face that looked like a round wheat loaf.

Since the time his mother died, he lost his childhood happiness. He became very quiet and only talked when it was very necessary.

From that day he carried the shoe polish box to clean people's shoes after he finished classes and during holidays which were always busy. He could not get rest during school holidays because of a cross-eyed stepmother who was married twice before she married his father. His father married her to take care of this army of children and to give him some peace at home when he gets back tired from work at the stone cutters. His vindictive stepmother used to force him to carry his box and go to work. He would carry the box, look at her face, answer her without saying a word, then go on to the streets, with the wise words of the cross-eyed woman in his ears: "Clean the people's shoes; do not ask for charity."

When he felt upset and sad, he would cry very hard, alone, careful no one would see him. He would cry quietly and talk to the soul of his dead mother: I wish you'd stayed with us so that I could kiss your hands on the feast day and clean your shoes. He would cry harder remembering his mother. You are the only person in this world that deserves to have her shoes cleaned. He noticed that never in his work as shoe cleaner, did a woman come to him asking to clean her shoes.

Whenever his hate of his stepmother increased, especially for her wise words, and whenever some arrogant man came to him asking for his shoes cleaned, like that man who beckoned him with his finger, as he sat behind the steering wheel of his car on the side road reading a newspaper and stretching his legs out of the car for Ahmad to clean his black shoes, Ahmad would look with disgust. He would curse the whole world secretly and say to himself: "When is there going to be a world where people would clean their own shoes."

Al-Faisali scored a second goal. Yet the people kept on cheering al-Wihdat hoping for something. Ahmad and Jihad and the mechanic were the most excited and yelling hardest. The mechanic was waving his hands still dirty from grease that day at work.

There was a boy among al-Faisali fans who looked "well-off" and was mocking al-Wihdat team in a provocative way. The mechanic sitting below him turned around, looked at the boy and said angrily, "If you are a man, come down here." He was very upset and the well-off boy was laughing and continued with his provocation as he was chewing his gum in a very arrogant way. He made an obscene gesture at the mechanic, infuriating him further because he wasn't able to get at the boy. "Come down here; come down you son of a ..."

The other man mentioned earlier, walking on crutches with the cast on his leg, was sitting quietly near the mechanic. He had his injured leg on one crutch and was hitting the ground with the other to express dissatisfaction with the game which ended 2-0 al-Faisali .

But the match was replayed many more times. Al-Wihdat was improving and new players were brought in. New blood and new talents. Al-Wihdat was becoming well-known and getting better. They started to beat al-Faisali and other teams. Al-Wihdat games became very important. Fans considered the most exciting games to be the ones between al-Wihdat and al- Faisali. They would say al-Faisali was the spoiled team of the system. It was supported by those with big stomachs and bank accounts. The army, the military police, the regular police, directors of prisons and the secret service, all supported it. The secret service men would mix with the spectators, particularly at the end of the game when the streets became like a sea of people.

In one of the narrow streets, when the game ended in favour of al- Wihdat, improving its record in the league, the game was like a holiday. Youths and children were singing the revolutionary songs they remembered better than their homework.

"My weapons emerged from my wounds."

The children sang. When the excited crowds reached the center of Amman, another group of youths sang:

"God witness that our wounds are part of yours, Amman."

A secret service man, in the crowd cursed the boys: "God damn your father, you Palestinians. What has a soccer game got to do with politics."

Another secret service man added: "These children of the camps are against al-Faisali because they do not like the Jordanians."

A third added: "They are against the king."

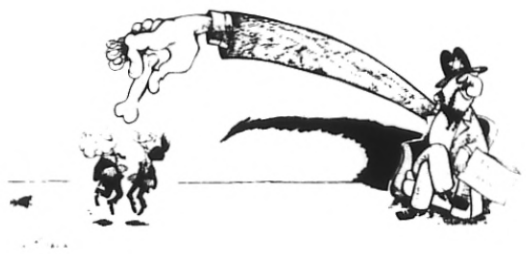
This last one tried to hear the reaction to what he said. He heard some comments and saw some looks.

Some people reacted and provocations went back and forth. Then there were victims. Things were getting tense and it looked as if there was going to be a demonstration. The police were called to bring order. Some youths were taken to al-Abdalli prison. They were detained and beaten because they hate the king. The authorities told them that hating the king is a crime punishable by law and was a sign of lack of gratitude. This is because the king, after the June 5, 1967, said "I am the first *fedayi*." One of the youths told a friend of his later that one agent, after beating him and cursing his family, said,: "Isn't it shameful to hate the king. In every speech he makes he mentions Palestine and al-Aqsa."

But the games continued. Ahmad and his friends always stand with al-Wihdat. Like the excitement on the field, so is excitement throughout the stadium. Ahmad and his friends always cheer al-Wihdat and never look well on al-Faisali fans. Ahmad, whose face was like a round loaf, and his friends, consider themselves a class that cannot have anything except disgust and have no choice in their attitude, towards "impartiality." They looked at the team spoiled by the regime and their fans sitting higher in the stadium chewing their British-made gum, as if they were made from a different caste and class. A class like that man with the black shoes and big black car.

(Sophia, 1984)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The terror attempt to bomb six Palestinian buses, the choice of Rashid Karameh to head a new Lebanese government and the murder of a Bir Zeit University professor took the headlines in the local press this week.

Local papers gave full news and photo coverage on the Israeli settlers' attempt to massacre hundreds of Palestinians. Al Fajr made an eight-column lead story the following day of West Bank mayors' condemnations of the aborted attack.

Al Fajr, Al Sha'ab and Al Ittihad did not publish May 1 on the occasion of International Workers' Day.

An Important Step

The statement issued following the meeting of representatives from Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestinian Communist Party, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Front, wa received with satisfaction in the occupied territories.

The special importance of this statement is that it paves the way for starting a new page in settling the present crisis and other related issues. It also calls for resolving issues through democratic means and looks realistically at the complications of the present crisis.

The statement also confirms another important priciple: that there is no alternative to unity in the PLO and to the hard work to strengthen it. It also confirmed the decisions of the 16th session of the Palestine National Council as the base for unity and for resolving disputes in the PLO.

This confirmation sets the ground for dealing with any acts and measures.

The meeting agreed to continue talks, indicating that the parties involved are optimistic about the results. They also saw a chance of agreement on all outstanding issues and the possibility of the participation of all Palestinian organisations in the dialogue.

These facts cannot be influenced by the 'Jordanian and American lobbies' in the occupied lands which are attempting to spread rumours about the negative results of the meeting or to censor out one of the participating parties — the Communist Party.

The statement issued at the end of the meeting blocked attempts by the American and Jordanian lobbies in the occupied lands to call for a majority vote and for a session of the Palestine National Council. The statement called for a session of the PNC after all the parties reach a national agreement on political and organisational issues.

It is true the meeting in Algiers did not solve everything and it was never intended for it to do that. But it set new foundations for a united Palestinian position. It is necessary, before a second meeting is held, to include more parties in it and to avoid taking positions that do not agree with the spirit of the Algiers meeting.

AL TALIA
April 26

Notes on the New Lebanese Government

Rashid Karameh has been charged by Lebanon's President, Amin Gemayel, with forming the new Lebanese government. Karameh explained it would be a "difficult" mission.

Gemayel had to ask Karameh to a new national unity government for several reasons.

Karameh, undoubtedly, has had wide experience in forming governments. This is the 10th time he has been asked to form a government in the past 29 years. He also knows all the Lebanese political factions through his interaction with them over the past years.

It is known that Karameh is a friend of Syria. Thus giving him this responsibility is a price Gemayel had to pay given Syria's great influence among the Lebanese factions making up the opposition. Karameh will be able to draw the opposition parties to join the government.

The announcement by the factions sympathetic to the Phalangists that they will take part in this new government indicates that Karameh will be able to fulfill the mission with which he was charged.

Karameh, during his meeting with Gemayel, insisted on three conditions before his government starts any reforms or rebuilds the army and secures a ceasefire. These conditions were the cancellation of all regulations issued by the former government of Shafiq Wazan; reopening the main coastal road between Beirut and south Lebanon; and the institution of legal action against General Antone Lahad, Israel's ally and leader of the South Lebanon Army.

As we share Karameh's feelings on the difficulty of his mission, we wish him success, particularly in what has to do with the so-called South Lebanon Army, which is complicating matters more as it splits itself further from the Lebanese army.

This is in addition to what is called the 'Lebanese Forces,' made up of Christian militias. Its representative and the head of its office in Israel, Pierre Yazbak, has announced that this force "will not consent to the new government and that decisions made by this government do not apply on the Christian sector of Beirut."

The new Karameh government is asked to take the necessary measures against these forces.

Another important and sensitive issue which we urge the Karameh government to take into consideration is the question of the almost 500,000 Palestinians in Lebanon.

There is no doubt most of these Palestinians lost many of their rights in the past harsh events. Many of them are still suffering inside Lebanese jails with great injustice being done to them.

The 500,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon need protection and a chance to work very badly, the right to freedom of movement and to return to the areas they lived in before they were forced out, before the massacres of Sabra and Shatila, for example.

AL FAJR
April 27

Prime Minister Karameh

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel delegated Rashid Karameh to form a national unity government to work for the creation of an atmosphere of *entente* and political understanding in Lebanon.

Even though this decision was made following intensive Arab and Lebanese efforts, Karameh does not have a magic wand which will be able to solve Lebanon's chronic problems at a stroke.

The presence of different factions in the government will give it power and allow it to deal with the problems in Lebanon. However, the immediate mission facing the Karameh government is to create an atmosphere for national consensus on the issues facing Lebanon. Unless there is such a consensus, the government will still be having difficulty in dealing with the problems and the Lebanese people will continue to suffer.

AL QUDS
April 27

Salute to the Palestinians Working Class

On the occasion of May Day we send our best wishes to our working class who proved that they will be the ones to decide Palestinian developments. The Palestinian working class has lived class repression, unemployment and the troubles of the shekel which keeps on losing its value. In addition, it is suffering from work conditions in the factories, the black market of workers, and from work in settlements.

In spite of all these problems, those who are in power in the workers' unions continue to divide the workers. We refer here to those who built union shops after they received large sums of steadfastness money. Instead of improving the conditions of the workers, they divided them. They were doing the dirty work of the Palestinian rightists as they play their role on orders from leading circles which negatively influenced, not only the unions, but also the general Palestinian struggle.

On this May Day, we salute the workers for their hard work and hope they will stand firm against those who use them.

AL MITHAQ
April 28

Tip of a Horrifying Iceburg

Discovering the racist crime intended to kill hundreds of innocent Arabs has shaken public opinion in our country. It is our right to ask now: Why did you deny the existence of this gang or other underground Jewish terrorist groups? This scandal proves that Jewish terrorism has reached a level to allow it to plan such group acts which can spread havoc and destruction not only in the occupied territories, but also inside Israel.

The police has announced that they arrested 20 terrorists. Some of them live inside Israel, but the majority are colonial settlers. It also announced that among them are officers in the reserves and the regular army. The press reported that there may be more arrests. Naturally, the colonial settlers hastily denied their connection with the criminals and tried to cover up this horrible crime.

The democratic forces in our country and all the conscientious people need to exert more efforts to make sure that this crime will not be forgotten or justified. We ought not to forget, even for a moment, that the authorities are still, four years later, pretending that they are not able to discover the criminals behind the assassination attempts on the mayors in the occupied West Bank, Shaka'a, Khalaf and Tawil.

They are still unable to find out who committed the bloody crime at the Islamic College in Hebron.

To allow people like Kahane and Eitan, known for their racist ideas, to run for the Knesset elections, may give the impression to some hot-headed people in our country that they have protection.

We warn our people, Arabs and Jews, to be alert and never to close their eyes to these crimes. We warn that what has been discovered is only a tip of the iceburg.

AL ITTIHAD
April 30

Settlers Grab for Hebron's Heart

Israeli settlers in Hebron released a plan last week which calls for massive land grabbing in central Hebron and the injection of a 3000-strong settler community within the next seven years. They propose that at a later date the city centre settlement be linked to Kiryat Arba, just outside municipal limits.

The plan, drawn up by the 'Committee for the Renewal of Jewish Settlement in the City of the Patriarchs' (CRJS), will be centred on the already-grabbed Dabboyya Building, Usama Ibn Munqeth School and the city bus station. The settlers propose the local wholesale market be integrated into the plan at an early stage.

The settlers want to establish guard posts, arms caches, *yeshivas*, a religious court and a shopping complex in the expanded settlement. Underground tunnels will link various segments of the town.

The 18-page document calls for Israeli government financing of the scheme up to its final stages. No budget was presented. The Israeli-controlled Hebron municipality and the military government Absentee Property Custodian will be centrally involved in land grabbing for the expansion.

The plan has not yet been formally presented.

According to the Hebrew afternoon paper *Hadashot*, four of the five Kiryat Arba residents arrested for involvement in the attempted massacre of Palestinians in Jerusalem April 27 are members of the CRJS. (Translation: Israeli Press, May 2, 1984.)

Pope, Arafat, Hirsch Call for International J'lem

The Easter sermon of Pope John Paul II regarding the status of Jerusalem reintroduced the proposal of the city's internationalisation. According to an interview in the London-based *Observer*, PLO Chairperson Yasir Arafat "was delighted with the very important statement issued by the Vatican advocating an international status of Jerusalem." The PLO is on record against the internationalisation of the city and demands that a united Jerusalem be the capital of a Palestinian state.

The Catholic leader's call for the establishment of a Palestinian homeland and the internationalisation of Jerusalem prompted anti-Zionist Jewish Orthodox leaders to revive their 1947 call for a special status for Jerusalem. Since the Pope's call, Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, spokesperson for the ultra-Orthodox Neturei Karta movement, who are also anti-Zionist, consulted with Palestinian political and religious leaders in an attempt to convince them to join Orthodox Jews and the Catholic Church in a joint call for the internationalisation of Jerusalem.

Hirsch and *Al Fajr*'s chief editor Hanna Siniora met in Bethlehem April 27 with Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij. According to Hirsch, both men showed interest in his initiative but Freij refused to comment to *Al Fajr* English on the subject. Siniora predicted that the Pope's call will be discussed in the coming PNC session. "We will follow whatever decision the PNC takes," Siniora added diplomatically.

Rabbi Hirsch also met with Jerusalem figure Faisal Husseini, a member of the Supreme Islamic Council, on April 30. Husseini, who also heads the Jerusalem-based Arab Studies Centre, has promised to bring the subject up at the next SIC meeting scheduled for early May.

Israeli daily *Davar* said on May 2 that Husseini "will try to convince the council to concede the Arab flag waving over East Jerusalem and to raise instead the UN flag." Husseini's lawyer sent an official letter denying the newspaper's allegation and affirming only that Husseini plans to raise the subject with the SIC. He flatly denied that he plans to convince the council and called the allegation a "baseless lie."

Hirsch told *Al Fajr* that it is of "extreme importance to remove Jerusalem from the political arena and to neutralise its rule. It should either be declared a *de facto* international arena under UN sovereignty or be ruled by representatives agreed upon by the three major religious communities," he said.

Hirsch also concluded that it is imperative to remove Zionist political custodianship from Jewish holy sites in the Holy Land and to turn them over the the Neturei Karta Supreme Council.

World Service Authority's Regional Secretary for the Orient-Mediterranean-Sea-coast, Toma Shick, disclosed that his organisation is preparing to issue World Passports stamped 'Jerusalem World City — Capital of the Palestinian Arab and Israeli Jewish Inhabitants for Human Rights.' Asked by an *Al Fajr* reporter if this slogan wasn't senseless, Shick replied, "Fine."

continued from page 1

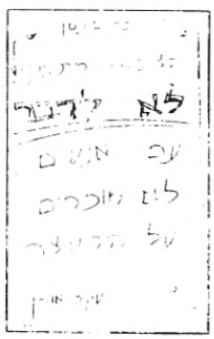
Settler Swoop

are said to range in age from 20 to 50.

Police say they are holding the mastermind behind the 1980 attack on three West Bank mayors. He is a resident of Karnei Shomron settlement and an outstanding figure in the settlement's economic life, according to Israeli sources. Some of those in detention have reportedly confessed to participation in attacks on the mayors. The gang leader is also suspected in the murder of two Palestinian residents of Hussan village, near Bethlehem, and other attacks.

The detainees have not finished giving their versions of their involvement in terror activities, police say, and it is not clear whether the police have in detention all those involved in the attacks. The authorities say they have discovered the body or bodies behind the various attacks.

Lawyers, some of them fellow settlers, initially protested not being allowed to see their clients but all were granted access by week's end.



"By the grace of God, the public is requested not to speak with unknown people about the arrests," reads a wall poster at Keshet moshav in the Golan Heights.

Four of the detainees participated in the attack on the Islamic College in Hebron in 1983. Two were taken to the college on May Day to reconstruct their roles. In order to avoid disturbances, the constructions have not been completed. Israelis killed three students and wounded dozens of others in the attack last July. The get-away car used in the college attack has been discovered.

At the beginning of the week two explosive devices were found near Hebron mosques and safely detonated. They were placed there some time ago but didn't go off.

A cache of mines apparently taken from Syrian minefields in the Golan Heights were found in Moshav Nov, in the Golan Heights. Large amounts of weapons and other devices were confiscated in various places in the occupied territories, including more than 100 hand granades.

Yediot Aharanot correspondents claim that one of the detainees, a Jerusalem resident, is a personal friend of minister without portfolio Ariel Sharon and used to visit him frequently.

Don't Touch Our Messiahs' — Shamir

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir was quoted in *HaAretz* as saying that "if there is today anyone who wants to exploit this sorrowful fact (of an Israeli underground) and throw mud on the Jewish settlements... we tell them 'don't touch our messiahs who are creating historical facts for generations to come.' "

Husseini Petitions High Court For Explanation of Town Arrest

The Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* April 30 requiring the Israeli authorities to explain why they do not cancel the town restriction order against Faisal Abd al-Qader Husseini, head of the Arab Studies Centre in Jerusalem.

In his petition on behalf of Husseini, Jerusalem lawyer Ibrahim Nasser said that the travel ban is a violation of his client's rights. The court verdict gave the commander of the central region and the interior minister 30 days to explain the ban.

In previous cases, the Israeli High Court has not ruled against the government which always argues that restriction measures are justified by 'security requirements.' Recently compromises have been worked out in some cases between prosecution and petitioner, with court approval.

In one arrangement last year, town arrest was lifted from former *al-Ard* activist Saleh Baransi, from Taibeh, in the Triangle, in exchange for banning him from travelling to the West Bank and Gaza and dropping the case — and the necessity to explain the reason for the original ban.

In an arrangement last year, the Israeli authorities promised to ease conditions of the restriction order on Faisal Husseini and to review the order for possible cancellation. The authorities, however, renewed it under the same conditions on its six-month expiration date.

Husseini said he appealed to the High Court because he wants to know the government's reasons for putting him under town restriction.

Husseini was placed under town arrest in 1982 without explanation. According to the order, he must sign in every day at the Jerusalem police station, remain at home from dusk to dawn and not leave the Jerusalem borders.

First Palestinian Theatre and Arts Centre to Open

The first Palestinian theatre and arts centre will open in Jerusalem May 9. *Al-Nuzha al-Hakawati* Theatre announced April 29 an extensive programme for the grand opening and the remainder of the month of May.

The Jerusalem-based *al-Hakawati* theatre group, which has been working on the renovation of the gutted Nuzha Cinema since last October, plans to have free outdoor shows of music, dancing and theatre in the afternoons of May 9-11. Nightly performances are planned throughout May.

A large canvas painting will be jointly executed by anyone who comes along, under the supervision of Ramallah artist Suleiman Mansour.

A Beduin tent will be put up and traditional Palestinian food will be served.

An exhibition of 23 silk screen paintings by Palestinian diaspora artist Kamal Boulatta, now on world tour, will be on display. Shows include musical evenings with back-from-exile Palestinian singer Moustafa Kurd, *al-Hakawati's '10001 Nights of a Stone-Thrower,'* a poetry reading by Samih al-Qassem, the play *'Clowns'* by the Friends Girls School drama group and 'Dust' by the Jerusalem-based *Farafir* theatre company.

Francois Abu Salem, director for *al Hakawati*, told *Al Fajr* that the new centre will provide "badly needed rehearsal and exhibition space for Palestinian artists. It will provide the Palestinian masses with a serious cultural alternative to prevelant entertainment provided on TV and in movie houses."

Radi Shehadeh, a member of the group, explained that members with local volunteers have worked night-and-day "to make this dream come true" but there is still much work to do.

Al Hakawati, which will administer the centre, budgetted US$130,000 for renovation and administration. "Only half of this has been raised so far from local and international contributors," says Edward Mualim, the company's treasurer. "A lot more is needed for the project to be properly finished."

An advisory board consisting of prominent businesspeople, artists and politicians has been chosen to supervise the centre.

The new art centre will include a 400-seat heated auditorium, a fully equipped stage with light and acoustical construction, make-up rooms and a small rehearsal and exhibit hall. In addition there is storage and workshop space, a coffee shop and on-site parking. *Al Hakawati* theatre company was founded in 1977. Its members are from both sides of the 'green line.' The Jerusalem-based theatre company has made four tours, performing in major European capitals to critical acclaim by major international art critics as well as by the local press.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Scouts of the Jerusalem Transport Union march outside Damascus Gate April 27 to celebrate the Muslim feast of Isra wa Me'rej commemorating the Prophet Mohammed's night flight from Mecca to al-Aqsa in Jerusalem and his ascension to heaven/ AO photo

April 24, 1984

SAKHNIN YOUTH REMANDED

ACRE — An Acre magistrate court ordered Saleh Zeidat, from Sakhnin, to be further detained until legal procedures against him are finished. Zeidat is charged with raising a Palestinian flag during Land Day last March in his village. He was arrested a week ago.

EARTHQUAKE IN GALILEE

A minor earthquake registering 4.1 on the Richter scale was reported in the Galilee. No reports of damage were given.

RED CROSS APPEAL ILL PRISONER'S RELEASE

JERUSALEM — The Red Cross and lawyer Felicia Langer appealed with the Israeli military for the release of Khadr Hassan Qattami, sentenced to life in prison in 1968. Qattami, 37, has leukemia.

Langer, who visited the Palestinian political prisoner April 25, said his condition is deteriorating and that he should be released immediately to receive proper medical treatment.

HALHOUL LAND GRAB

HALHOUL — Halhoul municipal council was informed by the military government of the expropriation of 2000 dunums of lands in Dhahr Khilal, Ras Ashraf and Qannieh, near Beit Ulla and Nuba.

April 25, 1984

JENIN YOUTHS SENTENCED

JENIN — A Nablus military court sentenced three residents of Jenin, Ahmad Abed Khazeimah, Ma'rouf Hussein Ma'rouf and Bassam Ahmad Ayyash, to various prison terms on charges of demonstrating. Khazeimah was also fined IS20,000.

COLLEGE STUDENTS WANT FEES DEAL

RAMALLAH — Students of Ramallah's Modern Community College asked the college administration to compromise on fees payment. The students demanded that the college reduce tuition and allow them to pay fees in installments because of the bad economic situation.

MEDICAL RELIEF COMMITTEES ISSUE REPORT

JERUSALEM — The Union of Medical Relief Committees report showed that 150 medical days were held last year throughout the West Bank in which more than 10,000 patients were treated.

NABLUS YOUTH IMPRISONED

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Anwar Abdo Bishara to a two-month prison term and a fine of IS25,000 on charges of stoning Israeli vehicles.

AGRICULTURAL ENGINEER RELEASED

NABLUS — Agricultural engineer Nabih Dhib, president of the Association of Marketing of Agricultural Products in the Tulkarm area, was released following several days of detention in Israeli jails. Dhib was arrested as he was leaving for Amman across Damieh bridge.

April 26, 1984

BOMB DISCOVERED IN WEST JERUSALEM

A high explosive bomb was discovered and safely defused near the Angel Bakery in the industrial area in West Jerusalem, an Israeli military spokesman said.

FIRE IN AUGUSTA VICTORIA

JERUSALEM — Fire broke out for the second time in one week in the surgery department in Augusta Victoria Hospital, Jerusalem. The fire, discovered 30 minutes after it broke out, was quickly extinguished. The first fire occurred last Monday. Augusta Victoria is run by UNRWA and caters for Palestinian refugees.

April 27, 1984

NEW PLANS FOR SETTLEMENTS

Ma'ariv newspaper reported that the Israeli ministry of agriculture has presented a new plan for intensified settlements in the occupied territories. It proposes the construction of 54 new settlements.

The paper said the plan calls for dividing the West Bank into eight different regions according to demographic distribution. According to the plan, 27 new settlements will be constructed in the belt surrounding the southern, western and northern parts of the West Bank. Seven will be built in the northern part of the West Bank, and 12 in the Jerusalem area. There is also a plan to build two settlements on the borders with Egypt.

DEMONSTRATION FOR DESEPARACIDOS

BEIRUT — Mothers and wives of persons kidnapped from West Beirut demonstrated to demand their release.

YOUTHS VOLUNTEER TO GUARD SHOPS

BEIT JALA — Youths from the town of Beit Jala volunteered to guard their streets and shops at night from robbers and vandals in light of the recent increase of thefts and vandalism of cars in the area.

THREE NAQAB RESIDENTS REMANDED

BEER SHEBA — Three men from the Naqab were remanded by a Beer Sheba court until legal procedures against them are concluded. The three men were accused of illegally crossing the Jordanian-Israeli border and of giving security information on Israel to Jordan.

LARGE DONATION

RAMALLAH — Hamidi Barghouthi donated IS1 million to charitable organisations and athletic clubs in Ramallah to contribute to the development of the city.

SETTLERS TAKE OVER LAND

JERUSALEM — Settlers, aided by Israeli soldiers, took over several dunums of land from the village of Qataneh, and uprooted 50 olive trees each almost 100 years old.

The Palestine Press Office said the settlers came from a kibbutz on the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road. The settlers had earlier been given by the military 400 dunums of land from the Arab village.

SOLDIER NO. 121 SENTENCED

TEL AVIV — An Israeli soldier was sentenced to 14 days in prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon. He is number 121 on the list of soldiers refusing to serve in occupied south Lebanon

NEWS OF HUNGER STRIKE AT HEBRON PRISON

HEBRON — News from Hebron prison said the political prisoners held a one day hunger strike last April 17, Prisoners' Day. The prisoners refused to receive any visitors and burnt their blankets in protest against the bad conditions in the prison and brutal measures against them.

The prison authorities retaliated by beating up the prisoners with clubs and by putting some of them in solitary confinement in an attempt to break the strike.

Prisoners at Hebron are in the tenth month of a partial strike in protest against bad conditions and are demanding better treatment.

April 29, 1984

PRISONER APPEALS AGAINST DEPORTATION

JERUSALEM — Palestinian political prisoner Ali Mohammed Shami appealed to the Red Cross and international human rights organisations against an order to deport him after he completes his jail term. In his appeal, Shami said he was arrested at Lydda airport May 23, 1972 and sentenced to 12 years in prison on charges of participating in anti-Israeli activities outside Israel. He said he was returning home to Jerusalem when he was held at the airport.

Shami added that now his sentence is over and the prison authorities informed him that he will be deported on May 22. He appealed for support in fighting this decision which he said "violates human rights and the Geneva Convention which does not allow an occupation authority to deport any citizen."

POLITICAL PRISONERS' SOLIDARITY

JERUSALEM — Palestinian political prisoners in Beer Sheba prison issued a statement expressing solidarity with Palestinian and Jordanian political prisoners held in Jordanian prisons. The statement, which condemned the Jordanian measures, said, "This regime came to liquidate our cause in agreement with the US imperialists and Israel in accordance with the Reagan plan and to rid the PLO of its representative status." The Beer Sheba prisoners demanded the release of the prisoners in Jordan.

IS1 MILLION TAX

QALQILYA — A Qalqilya shopkeeper was ordered to pay IS1 million in taxes. In Jerusalem, tax collectors raided a store run by Attiyeh Sub Laban, in Musrara, and searched the place under the pretext he has not paid his dues. The collectors searched the son of the storekeeper as well and took all the money he had on him and any money found in the shop.

POLYTECHNIC STUDENTS STRIKE

JERUSALEM — Students of the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron struck to protest registration procedures. The students discussed the registration during their strike which lasted into the night.

TWO YOUTHS SENTENCED

NABLUS — Two youths from Beer al-Basha, near Qabatiya, were given prison terms on charges of throwing Molotovs, raising a Palestinian flag and writing slogans on walls. Ali Nasser Ghawadreh was given four-and-a-half years, two of which are suspended, and Mahmoud Bashir Ghawadreh was given a similar term of which only two-and-a-half years were suspended.

May 1, 1984

TA'AMREH HOUSE DEMOLISHED

BETHLEHEM — A house owned by Hassan Ahmad Assakreh, from Ta'amreh, was demolished by the military government on the pretext that the house does not comply with building regulations.

STUDENT FINED IS100,000

NABLUS — Khalid Mohammed Mer'i, a student at al-Arabiyya School, Nablus, was fined IS100,000 by a Nablus military court and given a three-year suspended sentence on charges of demonstrating and stoning Israeli military vehicles.

UM AL-FAHM MAN SENTENCED

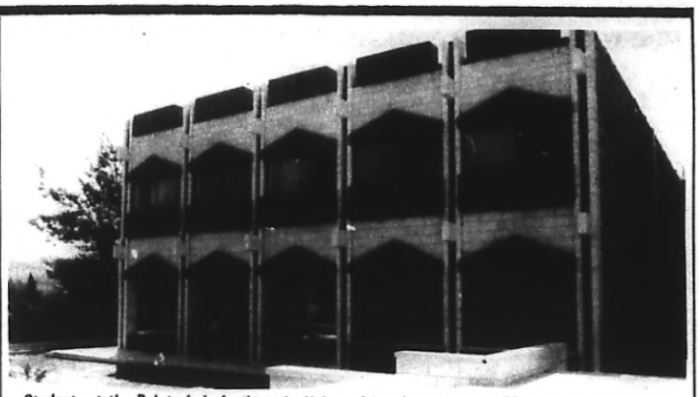
TRIANGLE — Israel Radio said Abd al-Karim Mahamid, 28, from Um al-Fahm, was given an 18-month prison term and 20 months suspended on charges of possessing arms without a license. Last year Mahamid shot at an Israeli army patrol in the village. There were no casualties.

BETHLEHEM STUDENT FINED

JERUSALEM — A Bethlehem University student, Mohammed Zahran, 21, was fined IS20,000 by a Ramallah military court on charges of violating a curfew in Dheisheh refugee camp, last November.

TOWN ARREST LIFTED

NABLUS — A town arrest order imposed on the poet Mu'in Jabr was lifted. Jabr was under town arrest for one year.



Students at the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron (above) struck April 29 to protest registration procedures.

Arafat Favours Direct Talks Under UN Umbrella

Yasir Arafat, chairperson of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, called last week for direct talks with Israel, under the umbrella of the United Nations, to secure a "just peace in which there is no victor and no vanquished."

The right forum for the talks, he suggested, could be the Security Council, acting as a specially constituted peace-making committee in which the obstacle of members' veto powers would be waived.

In the most explicit statement so far of his anxiety for a settlement, Arafat said: "I address this challenge to all Israelis — a just peace. Will they vote [in the Israeli elections in July] for peace or not? My candidate is peace. Otherwise, the cycle of violence in the Middle East will continue forever."

He added gloomily: "The Israelis are prisoners of their own slogans. I can't imagine an Israeli government having the courage to sit down with us."

Arafat answered questions for two hours in a white villa above a beach near Tunis, which has become his political headquarters. His Palestinian fighters are dispersed in nine camps across the Arab world from Iraq to the Yemens.

Arafat is a great political survivor. Both Israel and Syria, in pursuit of different national interests, have tried to sink him. His own movement, Fatah, is split. Two other guerrilla groups inside the PLO, the Popular Front and the Democratic Front, contest his leadership.

The United States has steadfastly refused to talk to him or to offer the PLO a role in any future negotiation.

The Likud government in Israel — under Yitzhak Shamir as under Menachem Begin — has repeatedly ruled out talks with the PLO even if it recognised Israel.

Yet Arafat remains as irrepressible as ever. His latest 'peace initiative' appears to have been launched with an eye on a possible Labour victory in Israel this summer, as well as on the tussle he will have to face in pushing his moderate views against hardliners in the Palestine National Council. This is expected to meet in June.

His appeal for talks in a UN forum is in line with a growing Arab recognition that America's monopoly of Middle East peacemaking is over and that the Soviet Union must be brought in.

The olive branch Arafat now extends to Israel includes a firm distancing of him from recent Palestinian acts of terror against Israeli civilians — for which responsibility is claimed by the Democratic Front.

"There is a big difference," he said, "between military action against military targets — and violent acts against other targets. I am against any operations against any civilian targets."

Was he prepared to recognise Israel?

"We not fighting ghosts. We are fighting the Israelis and they are fighting us. We are not ghosts and nor are they. But recognition can only be between two states. I haven't the right to grant recognition — only when I am in power."

The offer of peace talks with Israel was matched by conciliatory remarks about President Assad of Syria with whom he has also been engaged in bloody conflict but whom he described as "one of the strongest men of the region."

Arafat was delighted with the "very important statement" issued over Easter by the Vatican advocating an international status for Jerusalem.

"In spite of intense Israeli pressure, I had the occasion to see the Pope. I told him: 'Your Holiness, two Palestinians have come to this place. The first was a fisherman called Peter, the second is a civil engineer called Yasir Arafat.' "

What had he achieved in 20 years of struggle?

From being a matter of refugees and ration cards, the Palestine problem had become a key political issue which no one could ignore.

"In 1956, someone asked the then-Secretary of State John Foster Dulles: 'What about the Palestinians?'

"He replied: 'They are unlucky because they fell under the feet of elephants. The old generation will die and the young will forget.'

"But we are still here. Our young people have changed the whole atmosphere in the area. In 1982 (Israeli Defence Minister Ariel) Sharon and (US Secretary of State Alexander) Haig, (Israeli Premier Menachem) Begin and (US President Ronald) Reagan planned to liquidate the PLO within two or three days. They wanted to capture us and send us as prisoners to Israel. They thought to cancel our very existence. But we are still here." (Reprint: The Observer (London), April 29, 1984.)

Calender of Events

WHAT'S MISSING? WHAT'S HAPPENING!

Visitors and locals buy *Al Fajr* Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly for news of the occupied territories. Many important and enjoyable events pass by unnoticed simply because there are no avenues of advertisement available to announce them. *Al Fajr* will change this by offering FREE advertisement space to groups, institutions and individuals who want to let people know what's happening.

Ads must be no more than 25 words in length and be at *Al Fajr* English offices no later than Friday each week to be published the following Wednesday. They may be submitted in person at our 2 Hatem Ta'ee Street office or by phoning 281035. Call or stop by today and let us know what you are planning.

THE NUZHA-EL HAKAWATI THEATRE

GRAND OPENING

مسرح النزهة الحكواتي

May 9-11 — Outdoor activities 3pm — Music, theatre, group drawing, and plenty of food. **Kamal Boulatta** exhibit 3pm. May 9,10 — **Mustafa el-Kurd** concert 7pm.

May 13 — *Clowns* a play by the Friends Girls School 7pm, (English.)

El Hakawati — *1001 Nights of a Stone Thrower* May 10, 12, 17, 18, 19, 25, 26 27 7pm.

May 14 — **Samih el Qassem** Poetry reading accompanied with guitar music by George Bawardeh 7pm.

TICKETS — IS500 ADULT
IS400 STUDENT
SEASON AND GROUP TICKETS (10 performances) IS4000

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For Palestinians inside the 'green line,' election time is a period of grandiose promises from Zionist parties which are invariably broken later. This time round, however, Arab voters may have a choice of three non- and anti-Zionist lists. *Al Fajr* features editor **Awad Abdel Fattah** was in the Galilee and the Triangle this week speaking to proponents of the various lists about their ideas.

IMPENDING ISRAELI ELECTIONS STIR POLITICAL DEBATE IN THE GALILEE

Since shortly after the announcement last month that early parliamentary elections are to be held in Israel, there have been intensified activities and contacts between various groups and parties in the Palestinian towns and villages inside Israel. The Palestinian community within the 1948 borders of Israel has always shown great interest in both the municipal and the parliamentary elections. However, the current pre-election atmosphere is distinct from previous ones.

This election campaign is taking place in the shadow of a sharp political and economic crisis which many Israelis believe resulted from the failure of their military adventure in Lebanon. The debate has deepened the internal conflicts within all Zionist parties.

The Zionist parties in general, and the Labour Party in particular, continue to court the Arab vote and use the same methods they have always used to build votes around promises of improving the social, educational and economic conditions of the Palestinian community. The experience of the past is that none of these promises are even implemented.

The game goes on, however. Chairman of the Labour Party Shimon Peres opened the election campaign in the Arab sector in the village of Kabul, in the Galilee, in early April. According to Kabul residents, only 20 old people attended his meeting, while four people, including two members of the village council, were arrested for five days for "inciting" a boycott of the meeting.

"The small number of the participants," said Mohammed Ali Taha, a local teacher and council member, "marked a radical change in the attitude of the Palestinians towards the Zionist parties whose policy towards the Arab voters is based on deception and treachery."

According to political activists in the Galilee, the Labour Party faces a different situation in this election in the Arab sectors which they believe will not work in its favour. For example, Hamad Khalayli, Arab member and a veteran activist in the Labour Party, for the first time strongly criticised the party several weeks ago for following "a discriminatory policy towards the Arabs in Israel, and even its Arab members." He told *Koteret Rashit* magazine that he himself has been discriminated against in party circles.

Labour's Arab members are said to be in dispute over who is going to be the third Arab candidate in the Labour Party list. Since the Labour Party has a sectarian policy towards Arabs in Israel, Muslim, Christian and Druze Arab members are demanding representation for their confessional groups.

According to political activists in the Arab sector, if Labour fails to satisfy some of these criticisms there might be a break of Arab members from the party and the formation of a separate Arab list. "These Arabs members," said Marzouk Halabi, a Palestinian Druze and an editor of the Israeli Communist Party organ, *Al Ittihad*, "are motivated only by their personal interest and don't represent anyone but themselves."

One of the central issues for those in the Arab sector who are interested in the elections is an attempt to form a new Arab list. "But such an attempt," said the Galilee resident, "reminds us of the previous attempts of the Labour Party to initiate lists under the disguise of an Arab name."

The list in question was not initiated by the Labour Party. Different political groups and elements not known to have collaborated with or to be associated with a Zionist party, were involved, although it was reported that one former member of Sheli, Walid Sadeq, was instrumental.

Among these groups is the Progressive Movement in Nazareth which split from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) two years ago. A meeting was held in Nazareth April 20 and attended by the Taybeh, Triangle-based *Nahda* (Revival) movement, the Progressive Movement, Ansar (Supporters), Sadeq, Ibrahim Nimr, the head of the Shafa 'Amr municipality, and Nuri al-Uqbi, leader of the Society for Beduin Rights.

The meeting was initiated by the Progressive Movement to discuss the possibility of forming an Arab list. In the meeting there was no general agreement on the motion. *Ansar*, a left-wing Palestinian movement, rejected the idea and called for the establishment of a joint Jewish-Arab front. Strong criticism of an Arab list came from the Israeli Communist Party. In an article in the party's paper, *Al Ittihad*, the attempt to form the Arab list was described as being in harmony with the infamous Koenig document (a secret anti-Arab memorandum drawn up by northern district commissioner Israel Koenig in 1976 and subsequently leaked). It elaborated, saying that this attempt "is aimed at scattering Arab votes and weakening the DFPE," and that past attempts of a similar kind had failed.

If Labour fails to satisfy some of these criticisms there might be a break of Arab members from the party and the formation of a separate Arab list.

On this issue, Emile Tuma, a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, commented, "There can't be a struggle here without it being joined by Jews. We are against such a list because there is no hope for its success."

He added, "We believe Arabs have the right to form independent lists" but in the on-going attempt for a purely Arab list "suspicious people are involved," along with nationalists, he said.

Ansar, which is also against an Arab list, completely disagrees with Emile Tuma and the party's organ. Ghassan Aghbariyya, *Ansar* secretary, told *Al Fajr* that it is not true that the initiative for an Arab list is motivated by Koenig's policy. "Most of the people who took part in the meetings are 'clean' and nationalists," he remarked. Explaining why *Ansar* took part in the meeting, he said, "We in fact wanted to prevent them from forming a purely Arab list, and at the same time we wanted to try to convince some of the groups and elements who attended to join us in Arab-Jewish Front." *Ansar* is being associated with the anti-Zionist Revolutionary Communist League.

In an attempt to prevent the formation of an Arab list, *Ansar* suggested a meeting for all the groups involved in the initiative and anti-Zionist Israeli left groups in Um al-Fahm on April 27. The meeting did not come to a final agreement but the parties involved agreed to continue discussions on the subject.

The Nazareth-based Progressive Movement completely opposed the political platform proposed by *Ansar* as a common political ground with a Jewish front, participants in the meeting said. One *Ansar* activist told *Al Fajr* that the Progressive Movement opposed the articles which describe the Palestinians in Israel as an integral part of the Palestinian people and those which emphasise "the unity of the country (Palestine) under one democratic regime."

Although the conferees reached common ground on many points, the idea of an Arab list has not been abandoned, the activist predicted. Also, he told *Al Fajr*, recently negotiations started between *Ansar* and the Israeli Communist Party on the formation of a joint list. No final conclusions have been reported.

The Israeli response to the idea of an Arab list was hostile. "But this is just because they don't want the Arabs to have an independent list," said Ghassan. The head of the elections committee of the Labour Party, Mordechai Gur, former army chief of staff, warned in a meeting of Arabs in Nazareth against it. "If you decide to form an independent Arab list, you will make a historical mistake and cause harm to Arab residents," he claimed. He added "such an extreme list, if it will be represented in the Knesset by four or five members will contribute less to the interests of the Arabs than if they integrate their members into the Labour Party."

The idea of an Arab list also drew a response from Jordan. In an unprecedented move, the Jordanian television broadcast a special programme on the elections, three weeks ago, with the Arab list as the central point in their programme. The broadcast supported and encouraged the list causing immediate suspicions among Palestinians in Israel.

"This regime which sold out Palestine, should not intervene in our affairs," one political activist put it.

Boycott of Elections

While participation in voting is taken by granted by most of the Palestinians in Israel, *Abna' al-Balad* movement which has a strong political presence in a small number of villages has decided to boycott the poll. *Abna' al-Balad* does not believe in the effectiveness of working through Israeli elections. "We don't believe that being in the Israeli parliament (Knesset) will serve our struggle," said Mustafa Hayadri from the Sakhnin branch.

Mohammed Abu Rayya, a journalist from Sakhnin, who is serving a six-month town arrest order, speculated, "How can we sit in the Israeli parliament which has legislated discrimination against us, stripped us of our land and deprived us of our national rights." He added that even if all Palestinians inside Israel vote for one list, they would not have a majority, and consequently will not influence Israeli policy."

"How can we sit in the Israeli Parliament which has legislated discrimination against us, stripped us of our land and deprived us of our national rights."

Labour and Likud the Same

By-and-large the Palestinians in Israel see no difference between the Likud and the Labour parties. Some do not differentiate between any Zionist party. For them, the Zionist establishment is seen as a whole, regardless of the ruling party, and held responsible for the Palestinian problem in general and for their particular situation in Israel. "For me, I don't care who is in power, all share in the crime," said one old man from Arrabeh. He added, "Personally I don't believe that taking part in voting can contribute to the solution of our problem, but I sometimes do vote just to raise my voice."

Others reflect the same sentiments. But when elections are approaching, they are recruited by the political forces operating in the Palestinian community, to take part in voting, through the election campaign.

But in the present period of elections, people are aware that Israel faces a very difficult situation. Those who keenly follow the politics of the Zionist parties do not believe that Israel will rid itself of its political and economic crisis even if the Likud fails in the elections. "The Labour Party," said Mohammed Ali Taha, a DFPE activist, "if it takes power, will continue its previous policy."

Some cynics speculate that the Likud will be "better" for the Arabs, "because it doesn't know how to play the game of Labour in 'beautifying' its policy towards the Arabs," a Galilee teacher said. He considered Likud and Labour to be much the same, "but the Likud does not leave any illusions with the Arabs, because it says openly what all the Zionist establishment aspires to do, such as controlling Arab land and oppressing the Palestinian people."